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The Shape of Things

THE COMBINED OFFENSIVE AGAINST THE Atlantic Pact, staged last week at Flushing Meadow by Gromyko and his henchmen from Poland and Czechoslovakia, established for the record Russia's claim that the alliance is aggressive and violates the United Nations Charter. The denials by Messrs. Austin and McNeil were also for the record. Apparently the case will rest there, since Russia, for the reasons pointed out by Mr. del Vayo on page 463, shows no indication to submit its charges to the test of an Assembly vote. But the pact faces new hazards in other directions. Signs multiply that it will be given a thorough going-over in Congress unless the Administration does a phenomenal propaganda job before the treaty is sent to the Senate. As was expected, Congressional opposition has developed almost entirely out of the old and dependable impulse to keep taxes down, but this is likely to lead into broader fields. At any rate, the idea that the pact can be ratified before the legislators are given any notion of what it will mean in expense for arming Europe has been exploded. Both Dr. Nourse's recommendation that new arms costs be kept within the present budget and Mr. Hoover's revelation of the flagrant waste in military expenditure have fortified the determination of Congress to study the pact and the arms program as parts of one measure. And this is wholly justified. The only danger is, as Mr. Sancton's Washington report on page 464 reveals, that major issues of peace and security will be buried under Congress's anxieties over the taxpayers' dollars.

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THE GERMAN ISSUE CONTINUES TO BE A tightrope on which Secretary Acheson balances with skill but some difficulty. An inch one way and he will undo his partly successful job of convincing the French that enough controls have been retained by the Allies to make the future west German state harmless. An inch the other and the German political leaders may decide that no workable constitution can be written within the limits laid down in the occupation statute. Just now the situation is pretty well in balance. Since his return to Paris, M. Schuman has said publicly that the statute agreed to in Washington insures France against a rearmed or too strong Germany. The Germans have been somewhat reassured by Mr. Acheson's statement last week that even in areas reserved for final decision by the occupying powers the new state could operate effectively and with considerable freedom. The one important hold-out among the German political leaders is Kurt Schumacher, head of the Social Democratic Party, who opposes both the draft constitution and the occupation statute, chiefly on the ground that the central government must have more financial power than they permit.

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THE SOCIALISTS ARE IN AN APPARENTLY anomalous position: for the moment they are the nationalists of the Trizone, while the conservative parties, particularly the important Christian Democrats, support limitations on the federal authority. In both cases the party attitude is determined by clear-cut economic interests. Only under strong federal control can industrial recovery in western Germany be headed toward socialism. This the conservative parties fear as much as the Socialists desire it. Unhappily for the Socialists, however, even the left parties in neighboring countries are reluctant to indorse a position which is no doubt correct in terms of doctrine but dangerous in the light of political realities. Seeing the old reactionaries moving into key posts in German industry and government and the United States adamant in its opposition to Socialist measures, they share the popular belief that centralized economic power would mean the restoration of Germany as an industrial and military threat. With this preoccupation always uppermost, they prefer to take their chances with a decentralized financial structure and an ultimate Allied veto, even if the German conservatives, illogically enough, seem to agree with them.

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IT WAS THE RUTHLESS EXECUTION OF THE Sinn Fein rebels thirty-three years ago that launched this magazine on one of the most impassioned causes of its journalistic career. Starting off hesitantly and by no means convinced that the Easter rebellion was anything but the work of madmen, the editors of that distant day reacted powerfully to the savagery of British reprisals. "There are only two courses open to English statesmen in fronting Ireland," they said, drawing on Macaulay. "They are on the one hand the policy of Cromwell

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'strong, straightforward, and cruel'—repression, coercion, virtual extirpation; and on the other the humane and liberal policy which took for its first postulate the principle that it was impossible for two nations to live intermingled filled with desperate hate of each other." In the years that followed, the British statesmen pursued the first alternative—as they were later to do in the case of Israel—and in the dark days of the Black and Tan atrocities *The Nation* took the lead in organizing the American Committee of One Hundred to publicize the facts and win support for the Irish resistance. We are proud of the record of our editorial predecessors in that crusade, and if we may, it is for them as well as ourselves that we salute the newly established Republic of Ireland.

*

THE EIGHTH BIENNIAL CONVENTION OF THE International Longshoremen and Warehousemen's Union has been held in San Francisco behind locked doors, the stormiest meeting in the union's stormy history. Tom Flynn, who has succeeded Harry Bridges as regional C. I. O. director, read a long message from Philip Murray castigating the leadership of the union. However, on the first test issue the membership, by a vote of 632½ to 11½, expressed its confidence in the Bridges leadership. No one familiar with the long struggle of the West Coast longshoremen to win local autonomy could have expected the vote to be less conclusive. In this as in so many other crises of his career Harry Bridges has been blessed with a remarkable degree of good luck. The Truman victory in November made possible a highly favorable settlement of the union's last strike, and with this victory in his pocket, Mr. Bridges was able to face the delegates with his usual self-confidence. Defiant on certain issues, the delegates have nevertheless given a clear indication that they intend to stay in the C. I. O. Bridges himself sounded a new note in his opening speech. "As far as this union is concerned," he said, "anybody who thinks Joe Stalin or the Soviet Union is perfect is crazy—but that is not the issue. There are a hell of a lot of things wrong in every country. The question is: Are they bad enough to go to war over?" Whatever Mr. Murray may have in mind, it would seem that the membership will oust Mr. Bridges when and only when it is convinced that his ouster would be in the best interests of the union.

*

A NEAT PROBLEM IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM is presented by the case of three instructors at Boston College and its affiliated Jesuit high school who have been dismissed for teaching "ideas leading to bigotry and intolerance." It is novel, of course, to have the rebels on the side of orthodoxy, as they are in this instance. The teachers in question have even gone to the

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length of accusing the school administration of heresy for teaching that salvation is possible outside the Roman Catholic church. We would nevertheless defend them in the name of academic freedom if there were not two obviously complicating factors. First, the schools involved are sectarian private institutions established to teach a specific set of doctrines. Second, the instructors were employed to teach philosophy and physics, not theology. The gentlemen have appealed to the Pope and confidently await "some thunder from the Chair of Peter very soon, to destroy the heresy of liberalism." While we do not presume to take sides in matters theological, we hope the Vatican will uphold the enlightened approach of Father Kelleher, president of the college. The fundamentalist teachers are hardly what we need in a world already sagging with bigotry, and anti-liberal thunders from the Vatican could only serve to sharpen prevailing antagonisms.

*

FOR THE LAST FOUR OF THE THIRTY-EIGHT years that he has taught at New York's City College, Professor William E. Knickerbocker, present chairman of the Romance Languages Department, has been under fire for remarks and actions he is said to have directed against Jewish subordinates and students. With William C. Davis, an instructor in economics, who as a dormitory director during the war refused to permit white and Negro students to room together, he has been the subject of investigation after investigation, including one by a general committee of the City College faculty, which cleared him, and one by a special committee of the City Council, which did not. Now both men are once again at the center of a storm of protest—more violent than any that has heretofore rattled the windows along Convent Avenue. Last week over 500 striking students picketed the campus, yelling "Scab!" at any who crossed their lines, and classroom attendance was reduced 40 to 75 per cent (depending on whose statistics are accepted). On the first day the strikers had two sharp brushes with the police, 85 of whom had been dispatched to the scene of action by Mayor O'Dwyer in a somewhat exaggerated show of vigilance. After mounted police had ridden into the crowd of students there was a "near riot," and fourteen boys and three girls were hauled off in a patrol wagon. The New York press had a field day, and the red label was pinned on the strikers until they themselves disavowed Communist support; even the New York *Times* indulged in a vicious editorial crack about the students' "insistence on a pound of flesh." But the real issue should not be obscured: whatever elements of immaturity or vindictiveness may be present in the means the collegians have adopted to force a public trial of Knickerbocker and Davis, the fact is that the college administration has so far failed to convince the student body that bigotry on the campus will be instantly and sharply punished.

*

OVER TWELVE YEARS AGO JOSE BAILE, AN American Indian from Arizona, filed an application for social security. He is still waiting for an answer. If he gets a reply in 1949, it will be in the negative, for the Senate Appropriations Committee has just slipped a little item into the deficiency-appropriation bill, H.R. 2632, which will give federal sanction to the defiance of federal law now practiced by the states of Arizona and New Mexico. The bill excludes American Indians in these two states from social-security benefits, thus violating the rights of 100,000 American citizens. As a consequence of the new appropriations bill the Social Security Administration will be prohibited from withholding federal subsidies from states that violate the non-discrimination provisions of the Social Security Act —and racial discrimination, expressly prohibited by the act, is established as a legal principle in Arizona and New Mexico. This action was not taken because of any remarkable affluence among American Indians in Arizona and New Mexico. On the contrary, two years ago a House Committee reported that there were as many or more deaths from starvation, malnutrition, and related causes among Indians in these two states as there were deaths from similar causes among the rest of our national population. The exclusionary provision of H.R. 2632 is certainly unconstitutional, but it seems sure to be passed as soon as the House returns from its Easter recess unless, as we hope, protests are made by Americans who are outraged by this violation of democratic principles.

A Stabilizing Tax

CONGRESS is wavering between the demand of the President for higher taxes to prevent resumption of the upward price spiral and the warnings of those who fear that higher taxes will bring on depression—or reinforce one already beginning. In view of the poor record of previous forecasts, this situation is a real dilemma. How can anyone be sure enough of the course of the economy to take the responsibility either of increasing taxes or of failing to do so? The dilemma is made even more grave by the fact that the fiscal policy of government may be the deciding factor.

On principles of stabilization there is general agreement among authorities. The government should have a surplus during inflation, a deficit during recession or depression. That question need not be further argued. What is puzzling is when to shift from one to the other, and how much pressure ought to be applied at any given

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time to check the upward or the downward movement, as the case may be.

One thing is sure: Congress and the Administration cannot act quickly enough to make the delicate adjustments which may be required. Appropriations and taxation measures take months to frame and pass; once enacted, their nature is decided for at least a year, and their effects may endure longer than that. Meanwhile the business cycle, which has an *average* length of a little over three years from bottom to bottom, may have changed its direction.

What is needed is a measure that will automatically and rapidly adjust itself to the needs of the situation, without any new action by Congress. Can such a measure be devised and applied in a way appropriate to the present situation?

President Truman last week estimated that the cash deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1949, would be $600,000,000. Expenditures are sure to increase. More is going to be spent for defense and an extra amount for rearming European allies. The charge for veterans' services and benefits will be up, and something will be added to interest payments on debt, because of slightly higher interest rates. These are by far the largest items in the budget. Social security and other welfare expenses are also due for a boost. Even at the level of expenses and receipts for the last half of 1948 the government was paying out almost as much cash as it was taking in. If taxes are not increased and prosperity continues at the 1948 level, the cash budget will therefore be somewhat out of balance. If a recession develops, and incomes and prices decline, the yield of present taxes will be so greatly reduced as to cause a substantial deficit.

What we need is a new tax which will balance the budget if business conditions remain about as they were in the latter half of 1948, yield a surplus if the inflationary trend is resumed, and have practically no effect if deflation develops further. Such a tax would most logically be based on profits, since profits are very sensitive to changes in business conditions. They rise with great rapidity in booms and fall equally rapidly in recessions. Personal incomes show much less variation. Sales of consumers' goods, on which excise taxes are levied, have less variation still.

A small boost in the corporation income-tax rates might do the trick, especially if it were confined to the higher brackets. But still better would be a new form of excess-profits tax, tailored to fit the requirements of the present situation rather than to take some of the profits out of the war that has passed. This time we could take as a base the average profits earned in 1947-48 instead of in pre-war years. Any corporation which made no higher profits than in the past two years would have to pay no higher taxes than at present; any corporation which exceeded that level might be charged 90 per cent of the excess. The young and rapidly growing corporation might be protected, as before, by being allowed to reckon the excess against the rate of profit on its inverted capital—above a minimum percentage—rather than against the dollar volume of profits.

If we are in the early stages of a recession, such a tax would yield almost nothing: few companies would have to pay it. If, on the contrary, inflation should take hold again, it would yield a very substantial sum. It would, moreover, apply to the companies profiting from the defense boom without adding a cent to the tax payments of consumer-goods industries which happened to be suffering from restricted demand. A hedge against inflation, it would be inoperative if we did not need it.

British Labor's Prospects in 1950

A COMBINATION of events has given Britain a touch of political fever likely to prove recurrent until it reaches a climax next spring or early summer. For not later than June, 1950—the date will be chosen by the government unless it unexpectedly suffers defeat in the House of Commons—all Britain will go to the polls to render a verdict on five years of Labor government. Tory victories in the County Council elections, contradicting the trend of recent parliamentary by-elections, make any forecast of that verdict extremely hazardous.

It would be a mistake, however, to overemphasize the significance of local polls. Outside London none of the cities and large towns, where Labor strength is concentrated, participated in the voting, since they are not included, administratively, in the counties. Thus on this occasion most voters were inhabitants of villages, small towns, and suburban areas where the proportion of conservative elements is greater than it is in the country as a whole. There is nothing in the results to suggest that Labor has lost any of its basic support in the industrial areas, but clearly it has alienated some middle-class adherents and failed to make hoped for gains among farm workers.

Account must be taken of the relatively low percentage of the electorate polling in local elections. Even in London, where the struggle was keenest, less than half of those eligible cast their votes: in a Parliamentary general election the proportion is normally above 75 per cent, and as in this country a heavy poll generally favors the left.

But while it is not easy to translate the meaning of local elections into Parliamentary terms, it must be admitted that the Labor Party has received a nasty knock

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from the swing of the pendulum. Particularly disconcerting is the setback in London, where Labor had controlled the County Council for fifteen years. True, thanks to a constitutional quirk, it has been able to follow a Tory precedent of 1910 and elect enough aldermen, chosen by the Council itself, to retain a precarious majority. But it will take more than "smart politics" of that nature to restore the party's prestige in the national capital.

By an unfortunate coincidence Cripps's severe budget was announced the day before London voted. When the country has had more time to digest his proposals, there may be appreciation of his courage in refusing to sacrifice recovery to popularity. Undoubtedly the budget cost Labor some votes, for its immediate psychological impact staggered many citizens who hopefully, if unjustifiably, expected some remission of taxes.

Next year recovery may be on a sound enough basis to permit some relaxation of austerity. But the draft for a Labor Party election program—"Labor Believes in Britain," just issued by the Executive Committee—holds out no promises on that score. Nor, although it assures continuance and improvement of existing social services, does it make any new welfare commitments, pointing out that these must wait for an expansion in production and national income.

In regard to public ownership the draft platform steers a midway course between the party leaders who consider that a second term of office should be mainly devoted to consolidating ground already gained and those who wish to extend socialization rapidly. The New York *Times,* we note, headlined its dispatch on the program "Milder Socialism," but in view of what has been accomplished since 1945 by way of nationalizing basic industries and services, the second instalment was bound to be less sensational. The list of industries which Labor would now like to see in public hands is nevertheless most significant, and it is strange to find the Manchester *Guardian* suggesting that the proposals "are derisory and do not fit into any Socialist plan as the word has hitherto been understood."

To us it seems clear that the Labor Party's intended "victims" have been shrewdly selected. The cement and cane-sugar-refining industries are both de facto monopolies, while beet-sugar refining, as in the United States, is wholly dependent on government subsidies. Water supply is already largely in the hands of the municipal and other public authorities, but competition between them for limited resources, together with the need for improved service in rural areas, provides a strong case for a national system.

Much the most ambitious nationalization project is acquisition of fourteen large "industrial assurance" companies. An important part of the business of these concerns is the issuance of "poor men's" policies on which the premiums are collected weekly or monthly. It is a type of insurance always subject to abuses, and in some cases has been little better than a racket. But the companies have waxed fat and, spreading into other insurance fields, have accumulated vast assets that enable them to play a major role in financing industry. Consequently their nationalization will greatly increase the power of the government to direct national investment.

Whether these proposals will prove popular with the electors remains to be seen. So far the man in the street has been more impressed by Labor's social-service measures than by nationalization projects which can only prove their worth slowly. The program, therefore, is not a natural vote-catcher. But the Tories, unless they make promises they have no intention of keeping, cannot offer more, and their program, which is causing them many headaches, is likely to add up to the slogan: "We can do it better." Platforms, however, will not be decisive. Any future British government will be more or less Socialist, and the real issue next spring will be between a party that believes in socialism and one that grudgingly accepts it as inevitable.

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

A. D. A. and the Democrats

Chicago, April 13

LAST year at about this season Americans for Democratic Action were meeting in Philadelphia in an atmosphere of gloom verging on panic. The Roosevelt era was over, Truman was wobbling all over the lot on every issue but his determination to be nominated, Henry Wallace's followers were threatening to unseat the few bright stars in the dull firmament of the Eightieth Congress, and a first-class political disaster seemed about to befall the non-Communist left of the country. In this city last week the A. D. A.'s second annual convention was a fair gauge of the distance we have traveled in the past twelve months, and much of the significance of the gathering, I would say, lay precisely in this service as a measuring device.

The political background had of course changed markedly from the spring of 1948. Whatever the intentions of Harry Truman and his capacity to deliver on his promises, the voters had shown that the country was still basically for reform via government—that "return to normalcy" was not in the cards. To this fact Senator Taft has now given eloquent testimony in warning his Republican colleagues that unless they support a social-welfare program, including public housing and voluntary health insurance, they can expect their party to slide bit by bit into oblivion. At the same time, Wallace's ill-

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fated experiment had illustrated both the continuing vitality of the two-party system as such and, more blatantly than ever before, the extent to which the Communists can wreck a movement without their high-minded associates even knowing what hit them.

Had the A. D. A. conference been held two months ago, there is no doubt that it would have been something of a victory rally, what with the organization's campaign position vindicated and dozens of members elected to high office. But the Old Guard–Confederate coalition has made a difference. The tone of the gathering was sober, and there was no lack of realization that ground had been lost since November. Senator Hubert Humphrey, elected to the national chairmanship, made some pointed remarks about the unwarranted "complacency" that followed an election which "was not so much a victory as it was a reprieve." Governor Bowles of Connecticut advised the delegates that "the day is past when liberals could hibernate between elections." And Walter Reuther, too, spoke of the necessity of keeping A. D. A. political activity going 365 days a year.

POLITICALLY this uneasiness over the post-election letdown took the form of doubts as to how closely the organization could afford to be tied to the Democratic Party. To the untrained eye the struggle that went on over the wording of the policy statement on this question may seem like a bit of theological quibbling. The question was not whether the A. D. A. should become a caucus within the Democratic Party, but merely whether that party should be cited as the instrument with which the A. D. A., maintaining complete independence, might best cooperate "in carrying out the Fair Deal program." A proposal to delete all reference to the Democrats was defeated by the narrow margin of 150 to 114, and then only after an impassioned plea by Humphrey. In the end the phrase was amended to advocate cooperation "with the Fair Deal elements of the Democratic Party"—all of which showed the extent to which members were at least uneasy about the prospects of working with a party half-paralyzed by its Southern contingent.

The issue is settled for the time, but there is no doubt that it runs deep, touching matters that lie well below the surface. Primarily it tends to divide those who lean toward the long-range, the ideological, the educational aspects of A. D. A. from those whose thoughts run to the politically immediate—legislation, elections, and all the problems of power. Even within this frame, moreover, the question is bound to be viewed differently in various parts of the country, depending on the organizational structure of the Democratic Party locally and on its regional ideology. For example, in states like Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin, where there are no Democratic machines, it is not only possible but inevitable for the A. D. A. to function through the party and on a regional basis to take it over. Thus Humphrey had no hesitation in telling the delegates that he is "a Democrat with a capital D." George Edwards, formerly with the United Automobile Workers, led the fight for retaining the favorable reference to the Democratic Party in the convention's statement. Why not? The C. I. O. and the A. D. A. practically dominate that party in Michigan, and while Edwards plans to run in the fall as an independent—the mayoralty election in Detroit is non-partisan—he is counting heavily on the Democratic voters. Similarly Representative Biemiller of Wisconsin would have the A. D. A. work through the Democratic Party, which in his state is largely in the hands of the liberals rather than machine politicians.

In cities like Chicago and New York, however, the picture is very different. For all his newly found liberalism, Colonel Jake Arvey is a hard-boiled politician, and the Independent Voters of Illinois (identical with the A. D. A.) would have small chance of competing with him within the ward and precinct structure of the party. Hence it emphasizes its independence, does its own work in the wards, and exerts its pressure on Arvey from the outside. Similarly in New York it would be unthinkable for the Liberal Party or the A. D. A. to commit their fortunes to the mercies of Tammany Hall and Frank Costello. There, too, independence is the watchword.

With these cross-currents swirling about, it was obviously as impossible for the convention to look with favor on a third-party movement as it was to tighten the bonds to the Democrats. Walter Reuther, whose name is periodically linked with third-party talk, rejected that approach categorically. Following the national policy of the C. I. O., he told the press, he favors complete independence from both the old parties. This did not mean, however, that he makes no distinction between them. On the contrary, his hopes, like those of Governor Bowles, rest on the possibility of a realignment whereby the Democrats will slough off their tories, North and South, and receive in return Republicans like Flanders, Aiken, Lodge, and Morse, to whom, by the way, more than one convention speaker paid warm tribute. If this consummation, however devoutly to be wished, fails to materialize, then, Mr. Reuther suggested, the matter will have to be reviewed afresh. All of which points up the political dilemma of the labor and liberal forces: if they surrender their independence, they may be swallowed up; but if they intend to mold the Democratic Party from the outside, they may make more resentment than progress. For these reasons I expect the A. D. A. to retain for a long while its ambiguous relation to the Democratic Party, with some of its members in and some belligerently out; to release official statements a bit on the equivocal side, while maintaining connections as close as the circumstances, varying from area to area and from time to time, demand.

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Del Vayo—Last Week in the U. N.

Lake Success, April 15

THE SECOND week of the Assembly was extremely disputatious; almost every question taken up in the United Nations seems automatically to bring forth a new manifestation of the quarrel between East and West. The only two exceptions were Indonesia and Israel. On Indonesia the United States could not have sided with the Dutch without utterly discrediting itself. On Israel the Atlantic coalition split, and the United States voted with the Soviet Union, not with Great Britain. But the split was only superficial. Although it voted with Russia, the United States took no part in the debate, thus reviving the hope of the Arab states that it would play a passive role for the present.

Only Russia and Australia spoke in favor of Israel. The British cleverly utilized Catholic and Protestant sentiment about Jerusalem to gain for the Arabian-British position the support of certain Latin American Catholic countries and of Protestant Scandinavia. By referring to the Political Committee the question of Israel's admission to the U. N. the British hope to sow confusion and carry on a delaying action. The crisis, if handled carefully, could turn out to be only a slight one, but the Israelis will do well not to underestimate the resources of the opposition. Presumably they will use the time before the matter is taken up by the Political Committee to explore the attitude of the American delegation—whether it will simply make a gesture of dissent to save face or will vigorously oppose the new British move.

Israel was not the only issue in which religion and politics were mixed at Lake Success last week. Although some Western delegations felt it was no time to aggravate anti-Russian feeling, after the signing of the Atlantic Pact, the United States insisted on putting the Mindszenty case on the agenda. The preliminary discussion offered nothing new except the contention of an Eastern delegate that in taking the part of the Cardinal the United Nations was encouraging a domestic plot against a government with which some member states maintained diplomatic relations—a dangerous precedent to establish. The argument is a valid one. Of all the Hungarian government's charges against the Cardinal the one that will be most difficult for any committee of inquiry to refute is Mindszenty's connection with legitimist émigrés who are fighting the present regime.

Count Sforza displayed all his usual suavity and elegance in defending Italy's claim to its former colonies before the Political Committee, concealing the terrible shock he had received in Washington when he learned that he was not going to be paid in this coin for signing the Atlantic Pact. The Italian opposition can now accuse him not only of having sold Italy to the United States but of having got nothing in return. Many people besides the Communists and the Nenni Socialists are aroused. The conservative *Giornale della Sera* has declared bitterly, "In short, we have been sacrificed to England." The *Giornale d'Italia,* also far from leftist, tried to maintain its usual pro-American attitude by saying that the State Department had allowed itself to be deceived by the English. The Palazzo Chigi places its hopes in regard to Eritrea on the Moslem League, which detests the idea of Eritrea being awarded to Ethiopia and is urging the Arab states to support Italy's claims.

Andrei Gromyko, after his strong initial assault on the Atlantic Pact, did not force a debate on the issue before the Assembly. A British challenge to do so left him unmoved. The only result of such a discussion would have been to line up an overwhelming majority behind the initiators of the pact. I do not mention the disappointment of those who expected the Russians to lose their head and withdraw from the U. N., for since the days of the Palais Chaillot only a narrowing group of people have indulged in such baseless and absurd speculations.

The U. S. S. R. knows that it will best serve its interests, in the foreseeable future, by remaining in the United Nations and even championing the organization's authority, at the same time remaining adamant on the veto. No withdrawal from the U. N., no march on Finland, no sending of the Soviet army to the Norwegian border, no holding the match to the powder keg of the Middle East. The strategy of the recent changes in the Soviet hierarchy is becoming clear—on the one hand to make the whole Soviet area as strong as possible, on the other to press to the limit their propaganda for peace.

The Russians realize that Atlantic solidarity will begin to relax just as soon as by their acts they relieve people in the West of the fear that they plan to dominate the world either by violence or through internal upheavals. Italy, seeking a return of its colonies, is not the only country that is uneasy. The threatened denunciation of the French-Soviet treaty is worrying a large section of French non-Communist opinion. As I have pointed out several times in this magazine, the French do not relish the idea of exchanging their traditional policy of an alliance with Russia, protecting France against Germany, for an alliance with Germany. "We are now," a French nationalist friend writes me, "pursuing the policy of Vichy. So it wasn't necessary to shoot Pierre Laval."

The usual severe tone of the speeches of the Eastern delegates was pleasantly varied last week by the humorous remarks of Dr. Adolf Hoffmeister of Czechoslovakia, whom readers of *The Nation* will remember for his cartoons of some years ago. Commenting on the recent speech of Representative Clarence Cannon of Missouri about how Russia could be pulverized in thirty days with the atomic bomb, he managed to inject into his attack on the pact a touch of amusing irony.

The way the Russians approached this crucial question at Lake Success was extremely important for its revelation of their present mood. Evidently the Politburo realizes that a peace campaign conducted by press and radio and by restrained speeches in the United Nations is not enough. To break the present diplomatic deadlock Moscow must make a concrete proposal either on Germany or on some other fundamental issue, and I feel confident that it will do so very soon.

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Vision of Armageddon

BY THOMAS SANCTON

Washington, April 15

THE saber was rattled noisily this week in Congress, and Churchillian metaphors showered down like thermite bombs on potential breakers of the peace. To the accompaniment of a thunderous word barrage the House passed a staggering military appropriation, forcing upward by a billion dollars the budget figure recommended by President Truman. The Senate, on the same day, debated for many hours before rejecting an amendment that would have killed a $3,000,000 appropriation for a steam-turbine power plant needed by 100,000 farmers in the TVA region.

Cardinal Spellman opened the Senate session on April 12 with a resounding invocation which keynoted the week's activities: "Grim are the signs we sight," he prayed, "as rolling wrecks drift by, nations with decks awash, nations in frantic fear. Death riding at the masthead, with mutiny aboard, against Thy holy will, O God, Our Captain. Preserve us Thy nation, a union of states, one and indivisible." The Cardinal recalled to my thoughts Stendhal's novel "The Red and the Black," whose theme is the struggle of clerical reaction against the broken remnants of the French Revolution. This was the dominant issue in Continental politics in Stendhal's time, a hundred years ago; today the Cardinal himself is a dynamic symbol of a similar struggle now going on.

The House debate on the military-appropriations bill developed into a contest between Representative Carl Vinson, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, and Representative Clarence Cannon, chairman of the Appropriations Committee. Physically these two small, wiry, tough-fibered old men have a general resemblance to each other, and in their outlook upon world problems and their expression of their ideas they are more specifically alike. The debate therefore was not based on a difference in fundamental political principles. Actually it centered on a $300,000,000 appropriation for naval aviation—a bagatelle in the framework of current military expenditures. Yet it provided a terrifying and unguarded vision of the Armageddon which mankind is preparing.

Congress, it is now apparent, will not provide the full amount of any single public-welfare appropriation which the Truman Administration has requested. But war is the obsession of Congress today, and Vinson's Armed Services Committee has tried to raise the President's $14,765,000,000 arms budget to $16,364,600,000. Heeding the requests of General Hoyt Vandenberg, Vinson wants the Air Force increased to seventy groups; the President has tried to hold it to forty-eight. Representative Cannon's Appropriations Committee has accepted Vinson's Air Force recommendations in substance—fifty-eight groups as a preliminary step to seventy—but has trimmed the sums for naval aviation. The Appropriations Committee bill of $15,909,116,800, still $1,144,116,800 above the President's figure, was passed by a vote of 271 to 1.

In the House Representative Harry R. Sheppard of California presented an amendment, strongly supported by Vinson, to restore a $300,000,000 item for aircraft carriers. Representative Cannon, who favors land-based aircraft, opposed the amendment with a speech—drastically edited before publication in the *Congressional Record*—that astonished even veteran newspapermen in the galleries.

A seventy-year-old Missourian with an air of simplicity and composure which wins respect, Cannon in an old-fashioned way is a student of history. The Punic Wars and the Persians are very real to him, and the somber light of Gibbon's "Rome" infuses his view of world affairs.

> Success in the next war [he said] . . . will be due to a new weapon, the atom bomb. The army cannot deliver the bomb on Moscow, the navy cannot deliver the bomb on Moscow. . . . This war must be won in the first three weeks. Moscow and every other center in Russia we must hit within one week after the war starts, and it can be done only by land-based planes such as we now have. We will not necessarily have to send our land army over there. In the next war as in the last war, let us equip soldiers from other nations and let them send their boys into the holocaust instead of sending our own boys. . . . We will blast at the centers of operation and then let our allies send the army in, other boys, not our boys, to hold the ground we win. . . . With the signing of the Atlantic Pact we have the bases. All we need now is the planes to deliver the bomb.

Representative Dewey Short, influential Missouri Republican, said he had voted against the Marshall Plan appropriation "because I think five billion dollars spent on atomic bombs and B-36's will do more to stop communism than anything this nation can do."

IN THE Marshall Plan debate Representative Marcantonio offered a detailed analysis of what he asserted was evidence of the failure of the plan in Italy, and by extension throughout Europe. After he finished, Representative Javits of New York, a Republican first-termer, made a powerful impromptu rebuttal. Both these men

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have emerged from the highly competitive, complex culture of New York City, and their background is glimpsed through their gifts. Marcantonio is an unsurpassed debater in Congress—a masterful organizer of his ideas, tireless in gathering supporting documents. Javits, lacking only the skill gained by long Congressional experience, meets him on almost equal terms. To the spectators in the galleries both appear men of commanding presence —largely an effect of their speaking styles—and both appear also to be men of character. Yet because they speak in some degree for clashing political systems and at a time when political antagonists take the all-or-nothing positions from which the great calamities of history have sprung, each regards the other's interpretation of the Marshall Plan as an infamous lie.

"The few, the black marketeers, the ex-fascists, the business tycoons, they have grown fat and comfortable," said Marcantonio. Javits replied that figures at least were available for Italy, though not for "Poland, Hungary, Rumania, and the Soviet Union. If there is a deficiency in Italian production, we must not forget that the north and other parts of Italy were not so long ago literally torn asunder by politically inspired and Communist-led strikes."

Representative Anthony Cavalcante, a chunky, volatile personality from Uniontown, Pennsylvania, with many relatives in Italy, replied to Marcantonio from another point of view:

> From the Alps to Mount Etna the communistic vermin in Italy are frantically trying to create the belief that fascism is again nascent in that land. I can well understand this communistic fear. It was fascism that drove communism out of Italy. It was fascism that drove the same vermin out of Spain. It was fascism that drove the red hordes from the western borders of Europe to the Asiatic ramparts of Stalingrad, where the bear that walks like a man staggered, whining and cornered, until American war-program money provided the vitamins that brought the bear back roaring and triumphant to the heart of Christian Europe, where the treacherous beast now designs to enthrone his pagan gods upon the altars of the Christian shrines.

"I personally hold no brief for fascism," said Representative Cavalcante.

Peace Can Be Won

BY MOSHE SHARETT

[Israel's Minister for Foreign Affairs, Moshe Sharett, delivered the following speech at the dinner forum of the Nation Associates held at the Waldorf-Astoria in New York on April 7. The forum's subject for discussion was "Peace: How Can It Be Achieved?"]

I SUPPOSE it is a commonplace to say that an anxious and restless world can derive little comfort from the reflection that war is not imminent and that with luck it may be averted for a long time to come. What mankind wants is not merely the absence of war but real peace. The mere possibility of another world war is a haunting nightmare. You cannot stand indefinitely on the brink of a precipice and pray that the sense of balance will never forsake you or that you may never be pushed unawares into the chasm. It is an ordeal which may of itself produce the fatal loss of equilibrium.

Each one of us is prone to view the world scene from his particular angle and to draw from his own national experience conclusions which may or may not be of value for international statesmanship. I plead guilty to this egocentric approach. The experience and international position of Israel appear at first glance to be relevant to the point at issue on four main counts.

First, the part played in Israel's establishment by the international authority of the United Nations. The record of the General Assembly in this regard has been a striking demonstration of the capacity of the United Nations for creative statesmanship—its ability to formulate and morally to impose a bold and constructive solution for a complex and explosive international problem. It is true that, as far as the United Nations is concerned, high purpose in the conception of policy has not been equaled by determination and effectiveness in execution. It was the defense army of Israel and not the Security Council which in the hour of decision in Palestine saved Israel and the moral authority of the United Nations from utter collapse. Nevertheless, the role of the United Nations in shaping the country's destiny has proved decisive. The historic resolution of November 29, 1947, has in its broad outline set the pattern of a settlement which has already been woven into the fabric of the world. The Assembly itself never swerved from the course it had once adopted. It resisted twice the attempts made in its own midst to distort and stultify the great decision. The Security Council, after its initial indecision when faced with a brutal defiance of United Nations authority, rallied to arrest the growth of the conflict. In the final stages the achievement of Dr. Ralph Bunche and his associates in bringing to a successful conclusion three successive chapters of armistice negotiations stands as an example of international mediation at once resourceful, effective, and fair.

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Second, Israel's paramount and compelling interest in peace. Its birth was attended by a war forced on it by a brazen aggression. Once alive and firmly established, its very breath depends on international peace. Any major outbreak of hostilities on the world scene will immediately affect the Middle East and may engulf Israel in a tidal wave of destructive violence. Israel's imperative need to grow and develop by immigration, influx of capital, and importation of technical skill and scientific talent can only be satisfied in a stable world. A world war would be fatal to that process. Moreover, Israel's vital connection with the Jewish people throughout the world makes peace a supreme injunction of its foreign policy. In the wake of the First World War that people suffered pogroms and economic ruin in Eastern Europe. In the Second World War three-quarters of European Jewry were destroyed, and the virus of anti-Semitism became more malignant in many parts of the world. There is no people today which in obedience to a sheer instinct of self-preservation dreads another world war more than the Jews. Israel expects that its claim to be considered a peace-loving nation will be accepted as genuine not because of any supposed ethical superiority but because of its own evident interest in peace.

Moshe Sharett

Third, Israel's potential role in the development of the Middle East. It is a commonplace of the "anatomy of peace" that its maintenance depends not merely on a stable political relationship between nations but on social contentment within each. Gross inequalities of wealth, mass poverty and ignorance, are a perpetual source of internal strife. Undeveloped potentialities lead to external dislocation. Both are most potent menaces to international peace. Weakness or vacuum invites aggression from outside, provoking conflict among those bent on conquest. Injustice and oppression breed explosion from within, with inevitable international repercussions. There can be no stable peace on the basis of class privilege, mass privation, and general backwardness. It is in this context that the Middle East is one of the world's danger zones. The newly won independence of the Arab countries will remain precarious as long as the empty shell of political sovereignty is not filled with a solid content of economic development and social progress. To this process the state of Israel, by virtue of its own interest and for purely objective reasons, can serve as a powerful catalytic agent. Here again the basic interests of Israel are in full dynamic harmony with those of a constructive world peace.

FOURTH and last, Israel's demonstration of the coexistence within its national framework of divergent economic systems and ways of life. This unique diversity in unity is a feature of the Jewish reconstruction effort in Palestine which has as yet received scant attention from the world outside. Two basic principles have governed the social and economic evolution of the new Jewish society: first, the complete social self-determination of the settler—that is, his freedom to choose a form of social life which accords with his ideas; second, the freedom of economic enterprise, individual and collective. As a result, a structure has been built up and is steadily growing wherein different types of production and ownership function side by side, from the ultra-capitalistic and individualist to the ultra-socialistic and collectivist, with various intermediary types in between. In the process of peaceful growth the different forms shade into each other and replace one another as in a living tissue. The foundations of this social order, thus characterized by a symbiosis of socialism and capitalism, were firmly laid in the period preceding our independence. They will be retained and strengthened within the framework of the state. The new state democracy will safeguard these essential freedoms while subordinating them to the national purposes of the state, to its social principles and its international obligations. With all the stresses and frictions obtaining in Israel as in any modern society, there are inherent in this system the makings of a social peace.

This in brief expresses Israel's tenets and experience in grappling with the problem of peace. But it would be unwarranted to project those four elements to the world scene and expect the macrocosm to conform to the microcosm. The results achieved by international statesmanship in Palestine do not demonstrate the capacity of the United Nations to settle graver conflicts and solve problems of wider dimensions. What has proved decisive in the case of Palestine is the fact that the two major powers which stand at the opposite extremes of the world arena have aligned themselves, broadly speaking and at least at certain stages, in support of the same policy. Yet this incidental harmony does not yet seem to have established a precedent, and the fundamental disharmony between the two contending giants continues.

As to the pursuit of peace, all nations profess to be consecrated to that high objective. Yet the threat of war grows ominously. It is not enough merely to abjure and repudiate it. The accelerated development of backward

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territories and the removal of their worst inequalities would certainly make for greater contentment and therefore peace. Yet that avenue of progress alone by no means settles the issue. As such countries develop and mature, they may take their place in one of the two warring camps into which the world is today divided, thereby only enlarging the scope of the conflict. Moreover, the conflict is not now raging primarily in the backward areas of the globe. Its cockpits are rather located in the world's most civilized countries. In more than one country of Europe a struggle is being waged for the mastery of its soul, or rather two souls are struggling for supremacy.

THIS brings us back to the fourth element—the coexistence in one frame of divergent social systems and outlooks. Here, indeed, is the crux of the problem. For reduced to its fundamentals, the problem of world peace today is the problem of a peaceful development of two distinct social and political civilizations side by side. Whether a synthesis between the two is possible only time can show, provided humanity survives. As long as they diverge, and unless they learn to live together, the threat of a deathly clash will be ever present. If they cannot live together, neither an equilibrium, which cannot but be unstable, nor the preponderance of one system over the other, which must remain indecisive, can avert the catastrophe. The crucial question is therefore: Can they, will they agree to coexist, either forever or until such time as they will merge in some synthesis or one of them will prevail over its rival in peaceful evolution?

The experience of Israel does not of course resolve the enigma; yet it offers a clue to its solution. Why has the mutual adjustment of different systems proved feasible in Israel? Because they are subordinated to and united in a transcendent common purpose—the achievement of national salvation. The problem of world peace resolves itself therefore into the question: Is there a common world purpose which overrides the conflict between the two divergent political systems?

To that question the answer must be an emphatic affirmative. There is such a common purpose. It is the salvation of mankind. The common denominator of humanity is basic, elemental, and compelling. It is the will to live—the urge to survive. War has ceased to be a gamble between victory and defeat for either party. It spells a certainty of destruction for both, a danger of annihilation for all. Peace and survival have become synonymous. Peace is no longer a means to an end. It is an end in itself; it is life itself. The hope of mankind's survival thus lies in the common realization of the deadly peril. Will that realization penetrate deeply into the mind of man? Will it determine conduct? On the answer to these questions depend the peace of the world and the future of mankind.

No Comment

["No Comment," here making its first appearance, will become an occasional department. As in the case of "In the Wind," two dollars will be paid to the contributor of any item printed.]

ROME, March 20 (U. P.)—Six former Italian partisans have been sued for damages by relatives of three victims of the Ardeatine Caves massacre by the Germans in March, 1944, it was announced today. Nazi soldiers executed 335 Italian hostages in the caves in reprisal for a partisan bomb which killed twenty-eight German soldiers in downtown Rome. . . . The plaintiffs demand damages from six partisans, including Communist Deputy Giorgio Amendola and left-wing Socialist Senator Sandro Pertini, on the ground that the bombing was not authorized by partisan leaders and that the partisans responsible therefore are to blame for the German reprisal.

NEW ORLEANS, March 30 (A. P.)—A court has ruled that Bernard and Regino Docusen, well-known New Orleans fighters, are "half white" and "half Filipino" instead of "colored." . . . "This means the Docusen brothers can fight anywhere in the United States," [Judge René A. Viosca] explained.

MOSCOW, March 22—China's Ambassador to Russia, Dr. Foo Ping-sheung, said tonight he was unable to make up his mind about a telegram he received today from the new Nationalist Premier, General Ho Ying-chin, instructing him to return to Nanking immediately and take office as Foreign Minister. Dr. Foo, an amiable, easygoing man with long experience in Chinese politics, adopted a highly philosophical air as he pondered his decision in his Chinese-decorated room. "Wouldn't it be like jumping into the fire?" he asked, smiling softly and wisely all the while. . . . "I am now fifty-four and I don't want to die," he continued philosophically. "I would like to retire now, and live the rest of my life quietly while I can still enjoy it." He nibbled a piece of milk chocolate and sipped some sweet sherry, then some fragrant Chinese tea, as he continued pondering General Ho's telegram, his future, and that of China. "I think people live longer in New Zealand," he observed. . . . From New Zealand his mind wandered to South America, and he inquired about the climate and the cost of living in Argentina, Chile, and Brazil. He also displayed interest in Mexico, Guatemala, and Uruguay when told that those countries, too, have their attractions.—Joseph Newman in the New York *Herald Tribune*.

SEVEN City Health Department employees, including three part-time physicians, yesterday were dismissed

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unanimously by the Health Commission for failure to comply with Los Angeles' new loyalty oath or for writing remarks on their affidavits. . . . Two of the physicians were removed from the payroll "for the good of the department," for comments added to the printed forms. . . . Drs. Samuel Rosenthal . . . and David M. Goldstein . . . were dropped for remarks on their papers. Rosenthal wrote, "Why not include the KKK? Is this Fascist Germany?" Goldstein . . . added, "I also am not a member of the KKK or Gerald L. K. Smith organization."—From the Los Angeles *Times*, January 7.

A Plan for Disarmament

BY MORTON A. KAPLAN

AT THE Paris session of the United Nations Mr. Vishinsky excited discussion among people everywhere by proposing that the major powers reduce their armaments by one-third. His plan was rejected for reasons which seemed sufficient to the statesmen representing the Western nations and which will not be gone into here. To a world psychologically, economically, and politically in need of a disarmament plan, if not this particular one, their action seemed to place the Western powers in the unfortunate position of blocking a move toward world peace. Now that the General Assembly has reconvened at Lake Success a new approach to the problem of disarmament may be possible in spite of the signing of the Atlantic Pact.

While the military must constantly seek to improve the strategic position of their country vis-à-vis any possible enemy, the statesmen who formulate policy have other objectives. Just as for Cavour the higher moral goal was the unity of the Italian state, so the higher moral goal of Western statesmen is to preserve a free society composed of free individuals. They seek, therefore, an international order permitting at least the stabilization of free societies in those portions of the globe where they now exist. Large armies, far-flung bases, and alliances with forces whose only virtue is that they are anti-Soviet are not and should not be permitted to become ends in themselves.

No capable social scientist accepts the dichotomy of means and ends which is prevalent in general thinking. In our struggle with the Soviet Union we should not concentrate exclusively on the means and so lose sight of the goal. Only the most primitive and destructive desires would be satisfied if we were to win the cold war with the Soviets at the expense of the values of our social existence. Yet this is precisely what appears to be happening. The means we are using are shaping our social ends. The cost of the cold war is altering the American economy. Controls and allocation of strategic materials are becoming more and more necessary. Soon we may have to set up man-power controls and a new war-production board. The general is becoming an increasingly important factor in politics. The Marshall Plan is being remodeled for strategic and military reasons, at the expense of reconstruction and the financial and political stability of the nations of Western Europe. France views with malignant suspicion the restoration of western Germany as a military factor.

We have not yet developed a garrison state, but it is time to take an accounting of current trends. It is the duty of our military leaders to ask for a draft, for more armaments, for the diversion of steel from civilian to military purposes. They *should* think logistically and not imaginatively. But it is the function of our statesmen to look beyond logistics and to achieve a constructive solution of our problems. It is because statesmen everywhere lack constructive imagination that the world is being crushed by a competitive arms burden which will keep growing until the resources of the various countries are totally exhausted. We are living through an age in which neither war nor peace seems to be possible. But both physical and financial ruin are possible. The world's wealth is being dissipated. Eventually even the financial integrity of the United States will be threatened.

The Western powers' rejection of the Soviet disarmament proposal was understandable. Much less so was the fact that the Yankee representatives, descendants of a race of talented bargainers in both diplomacy and trade, made no effort to explore the Soviet offer. Even if the one-third reduction proposed was a shrewd attempt to increase Russia's relative military advantage, the Soviets, with their low level of consumption, have a real need to reduce the arms burden. This burden is the result of intense suspicion on both sides. But neither really believes that the other will attack it in the predictable future. And both need relief from the tension and the sacrifices which the arms race imposes on their domestic economies.

The fault of plans for world government is that they overlook essential differences in ways of life and attempt to solve too many problems at once. A plan that

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aspires to resolve international differences constructively must be based on the common ground which does exist and must not try to go beyond that. It must not encourage dreams of an impossible resolution of basic differences. Through being clarified, however, these differences may be made non-destructive. And, after all, the impracticality of a solution may be only the difficulty of getting statesmen to see its practicality.

The Western powers believe that their system of government represents values which are permanent and which would be adopted by any group of men free to choose. They seek, therefore, to preserve freedom of choice. The Soviets believe that they represent the unfolding of the historical process. They have no objection to aiding history, but they believe that time is with them. They feel none of Hitler's obscene haste to carve out a world empire. History may yet play tricks with the analyses of both the Western powers and the Soviet Union. What is important is that neither party has any immediate impelling need to crush the other, while both have a need to escape the arms burden. The struggle of each for the means of defense may prove more destructive to their social systems than was World War II.

Western statesmen should counter Vishinsky's proposal of a one-third reduction of armaments with Litvinov's 1927 proposals. Even if those were offered only for their propaganda value, they make good sense now. No plan for quantitative or qualitative arms reduction has ever been practicable, for reasons so obvious that they need not be developed here. A plan which through total disarmament obliterates the possibility of attack is therefore a compelling need. And agreement on it by the two super-powers, the United States and the U. S. S. R., could virtually insure its universal acceptance. Once the curtain of fear is torn down, the friction based on suspicion can be eliminated and the air cleared enough to permit constructive solutions to other vexatious international problems.

THE Litvinov proposals, it will be remembered, called for the complete destruction of armies, navies, armaments, military schools, military records and plans—in short, for the destruction of everything which could be used to wage war. Of course the technical difficulties would be tremendous. How should we start? When? Where? By what stages? Let no one think that a magic formula has been presented. But the difficulties should not be utilized by the powers to prevent agreement. Some form of inspection would be necessary, a subject on which the Soviet Union has proved recalcitrant in the past. It must be noted here, however, that the Soviet Union was not the only stubborn nation when atomic control was discussed; nor were all its counter-proposals without merit. Much can be said for a simultaneous destruction of weapons and imposition of control and inspection as opposed to the step-by-step process. And the contention that weapons of mass destruction should be linked with conventional armaments makes sense.

At any rate, a real attempt should be made to overcome the technical difficulties. The United States particularly should refrain from the take-it-or-leave-it procedure it used in its proposal for the control of atomic energy.

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A minimum program should never be offered at the beginning of discussions. An appreciation of the difficulties confronting the Soviets might go a long way toward solving certain problems. The fact that both sides will have something to offer in the way of concessions will facilitate an agreement. The total-disarmament proposal has also great propaganda value. It would not be offered for such a purpose, but if the Soviets should reject their own 1927 proposals, the picture would be clear. It would be the Soviet Union which refused to discontinue the cold war.

Stalin told Harry Hopkins in 1945 in Moscow that the United States was in Europe to stay whether it wanted to or not. And so is Russia. But what about Europe? This may well be the last chance to preserve the source of Western civilization. It will not be preserved by shaping Europe into the alien image of either collectivist Russia or capitalist America. American economic dominance and the Russian army cast deep shadows over the Continent. Under conditions of total disarmament the shadows might not be so dense as to stifle all independent development or prevent the economic stabilization that alone can make Europe an effective mediatory force between the super-powers.

Total disarmament is not a complete prescription, for even within the terms of such an agreement there would be many residual details to be settled. The negotiators would have to decide whether a small international force or small national contingents should be retained for a limited period to police occupied areas. They would also be confronted with the allied problems of the easier convertibility of the American economy to war and the easier mobilization of Russian man-power. No plan in the real world could eliminate all difficulties. But because the burden of their own armaments is becoming more dangerous to each group of powers than the enmity of the other group, the solution of these residual matters becomes a necessity.

The arms burden threatens the physical existence of the major powers through the depletion of national resources, loss of financial stability, and reduction of the standard of living. It threatens the moral destruction of the Western powers because it undermines the very values of freedom which are the essence of our civilization. No plan for quantitative or qualitative arms reduction can succeed. But a plan for total disarmament might be made to work, and to the nation that presents it and gains acceptance for it would go the moral leadership of the world. May the United States of America be that nation!

LIBERTY IN AMERICA

How to Measure Loyalty

BY CLIFFORD J. DURR

ARE you loyal to the government of the United States? That's a silly question, and an insulting one. Of course you are. You know how you feel about your country and your government, and you know that you have never been disloyal in thought or deed. At least, that's your story, but can you prove it? How would you go about proving it?

These questions are not a parlor guessing game. They have a pretty grim importance if you happen to be an employee of the United States government in this Year of Our Independence, 173, of Our Bill of Rights, 158, and of Executive Order 9835, 3. They are beginning to have importance for more and more employees of state and municipal governments and also for school teachers and college professors. You may find before long that they will have importance for you, whatever your occupation.

CLIFFORD J. DURR, for many years a member of the Federal Communications Commission, is now practicing law in Washington.

Roy Patterson is one of the thousands of United States government employees who have had their loyalty checked pursuant to the President's "Loyalty Order" of March 21, 1947, and he has been found wanting. In consequence he has a badly damaged reputation and no job. He also has a wife and two small children who depend on him for support.

At first Patterson (his real name) thought it would be easy to prove his loyalty, but now he knows better. He has been at it since June, 1948, when he received a notice from the chairman of the Loyalty Board of the Department of Labor advising him that his removal from the federal service was proposed on the basis of a charge "that there are reasonable grounds for belief that you are disloyal to the government of the United States." He has had two hearings, which seems fair enough—an original hearing before the Loyalty Board and a hearing on appeal before a representative of the Secretary of Labor. It can be assumed for present purposes that both hearings were conducted "in a serious atmosphere of dignity and decorum" and that the conduct of those in charge was "characterized by fairness, impartiality, and

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cooperativeness," for that is what the rules provide. But Patterson still has not been able to figure out how to prove that he is loyal.

Messrs. Harris Shane, William S. Tyson, and James E. Dodson, who compose the Loyalty Board, say that "reasonable grounds exist for the belief that [he is] disloyal," and the Honorable Maurice J. Tobin, Secretary of Labor, says the same. What those "reasonable grounds" are is a secret buried deep in the breast of the Loyalty Board and the Secretary.

PATTERSON, quite logically, thinks he would have a better chance of proving that he is "loyal" if he knew why he has been found "disloyal." But Messrs. Shane, Tyson, and Dodson won't tell him, and the Honorable Maurice J. Tobin won't tell him. They say they are bound by the rules, which provide that "the decision shall merely state the actions taken and shall be made a part of the record in the case." The rules do not say that an employee is entitled to know why he is declared "disloyal."

Maybe Patterson was found disloyal because of a mistaken interpretation of certain evidence in the record. Maybe it was because some of the witnesses were believed and others were not. Maybe it was because the board and Mr. Tobin disagree with his views on the Marshall Plan or the Truman Doctrine. Maybe it was because they don't like Texans, or members of government unions, or Methodists. Patterson needs desperately to know. He has one more chance—before the Loyalty Review Board, the "Supreme Court" of the loyalty program—and he is convinced he can prove his "loyalty" there if he can find out the reasons for the decision of his other judges.

Patterson has of course been served with the customary charges, but he doesn't know whether he has been found guilty of all of them, only some of them, or none of them. He is not accused of any illegal acts. No suggestion is made that he has ever failed to discharge his duties with complete fidelity. He is not even accused of being a "Communist," past or present.

Perhaps it is best to let the charges speak for themselves. Here they are:

1. That you are or have been an active member of the following organizations: (a) Washington Committee for Democratic Action; (b) American Peace Mobilization; (c) American Youth Congress; (d) Washington Bookshop Association.

2. That you took an active part in the leadership of the American Peace Mobilization.

3. That you have been in frequent and sympathetic association with persons alleged to be members of groups or organizations designated as subversive by the Attorney General.

4. That you have regularly read the *Daily Worker*; that you have approved and supported its policies.

5. That you have consistently followed and attempted to influence others to follow the Communist Party line regarding national and international problems. Particularly, (a) that you publicly criticized and attempted to influence others to oppose plans and efforts toward military preparedness and aid to the allies, terming the war the "imperialistic war," prior to Germany's invasion of Russia; (b) that you quickly reversed your position after Germany's invasion of Russia and approved and supported the position of Russia, and approved all possible aid to nations fighting Germany, terming the war the "people's war," attempting to assume a position of leadership in your community and personal associations in matters of preparedness; (c) that you have repeatedly approved and supported the position of Russia on significant issues as opposed to the position of the United States.

Patterson thought the best way to clear up any suspicions of "disloyalty" would be to offer affirmative proof of his "loyalty." Here is what the record shows on the affirmative side.

HE HAS been continuously employed by the United States government, as a civilian or soldier, for eleven years. His efficiency record as a civilian employee has never been lower than "very good." His immediate supervisor in the Department of Labor and the chief of his section both testified that his work had been entirely satisfactory; that he had been "loyal" to his job and that they did not have the slightest reason for questioning his complete and unqualified loyalty to his country.

On the military side he has in his favor a commission as a first lieutenant in the army, a Purple Heart with cluster, a promotion for "outstanding performance in active combat," a Silver Star, and a permanent partial disability resulting from a German machine-gun bullet that crashed through his chest and carried away a piece of his backbone.

The citation accompanying the Silver Star is weirdly incongruous with the findings of the Loyalty Board and Secretary Tobin. It reads as follows:

> . . . For gallantry in action on October 4, 1944, in Italy. While attacking enemy positions located in a well-prepared defense system in mountainous terrain, Lieutenant Patterson . . . was severely wounded when an enemy machine-gun opened up on the left flank of his platoon. Notwithstanding the severity of his wounds, he courageously remained in command of the platoon . . . and led a bold and daring attack to destroy the enemy threat upon the position's flank. His heroic tenacity in continuing to close with and destroy the enemy, although severely wounded, insured the success of the platoon's combat mission . . . and reflects great credit upon himself and the military service.

It would seem that past conduct should constitute strong evidence of future behavior. It would also seem

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that a demonstrated willingness to die in the defense of one's country should create a presumption of loyalty in the absence of very convincing evidence to the contrary. What weight did the Loyalty Board and the Secretary of Labor give to these factors, and what weight will the Loyalty Review Board give to them? Patterson doesn't know and nobody will tell him.

Patterson must also disprove his "disloyalty." How does one disprove "disloyalty" when the principal witnesses against one are nameless and absent? In answer to the suggestion of Patterson's lawyer that a little more information about the source of the charges might be helpful in getting at the facts, Mr. Shane, chairman of the Loyalty Board, stated the matter succinctly: "I hope you understand the position under which we have to operate. . . . It is not possible to call all the informants *because in some cases we don't know who they are*" (italics supplied).

But Loyalty Boards seem to have found an ingenious solution to the problem of cross-examining invisible witnesses who aren't there. Their presence is symbolized by a semi-invisible document, and their testimony is accepted without cross-examination. A report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation has magic qualities which give veracity and relevance to everything in it. It becomes evidence above evidence.

The members of the Loyalty Board at least see the FBI report. The "accused" employee doesn't. The Sixth Amendment to our federal Constitution makes some very specific statements about the right of an accused not only "to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusations" upon which he is being tried, but also "to be confronted by the witnesses" against him. The loyalty program, however, is apparently above the Constitution. "I assure you," repeated Mr. Shane, "it isn't possible for us to reveal either the investigating report [or the names of the informants], as we ourselves do not know the names of the informants."

PATTERSON denied that he was ever a member, active or otherwise, of the American Peace Mobilization or the American Youth Congress. He admitted a "casual" past membership in the Washington Committee for Democratic Action and the Washington Bookshop Association, but presented documentary evidence to show that he resigned from both in June, 1941—two weeks before the invasion of Russia, by the way. What did the Loyalty Board and the Secretary of Labor find with respect to Count 1, and what conclusion did they draw from their findings? Patterson wants to know but nobody will tell him.

Patterson denied that he ever took an active part in the leadership of the American Peace Mobilization. What findings were made with respect to Count 2? Patterson wants to know but nobody will tell him.

Patterson admitted acquaintance with certain individuals mentioned for the first time at the hearing. He denied knowing others. Who are these individuals? What have they done? Are they honest, law-abiding citizens, or are they spies or otherwise dangerous criminals? What findings were made with respect to Count 3? Patterson wants to know but nobody will tell him.

Patterson admitted that at one time he read the *Daily Worker* as part of his assigned duties at the Department of Labor. It was part of his job, he says, to check a large number of newspapers for items dealing with labor disputes. He denied that he ever supported the policies of the *Daily Worker* and doesn't recall having seen a copy since he left his job to join the army. What was the finding with respect to Count 4? Patterson doesn't know and nobody will tell him.

Patterson denied that he had ever followed or attempted to influence others to follow the Communist Party line on national or international problems. Did the Loyalty Board and the Secretary of Labor find that he had or had not followed the Communist Party line? If so, in what respect? What was the finding with respect to Count 5? Patterson wants to know but nobody will tell him.

Patterson was asked a few questions that may or may not have a bearing on his loyalty.

> Did you or did you not agree with Mrs. Blank's *thoughts* on American Peace Mobilization?
>
> Did you or [your wife] sign any petition or send any telegrams to the Secretary of Labor protesting the discharge of Mrs. Blank and asking her reinstatement?
>
> What was your opinion, if you wish to express it, as to whether Mrs. Blank was or was not [a Communist]?
>
> What were your views on the Spanish revolution?
>
> Were you always for China in its war against Japan?
>
> Do you favor the present draft?
>
> Do you recall if you had any ideas about European aid prior to 1939?
>
> What distinction do you draw between the terms "communism" and "fascism," if you see any, and if so what is it?
>
> What was your government bond-buying record right from the beginning?
>
> I am interested to know when you became vitally interested in the question of non-segregation because it is rather unusual, you will have to admit, for persons born and raised in Texas to feel that that would be the reason for one to join the Washington Bookshop, for instance, because he could there attend unsegregated meetings. I would like to get your thinking on that.

Did Patterson give the right answer or the wrong answer to these questions? Or did he give the right answer to some and the wrong answer to others. He would like to know, but nobody will tell him.

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Thus in the name of our "democratic process," which the Loyalty Order declares to be "the heart and sinew of the United States," certain men are empowered, in secret hearings, to render judgment against others depriving them of their jobs, their reputations, and all hope of normal and friendly intercourse with their fellow-men, without even giving the reason for their actions. Does it not follow that they are empowered to render such judgments arbitrarily and without having any reason?

Is the issue of our time really democracy versus communism? Is this the era of the "Fair Deal"?

Can Tito Survive?

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

I. The War of Nerves

Belgrade, April 1

BELGRADE'S only skyscraper is a thirteen-story building called the Albania; one of the city's hotels is called the Moscow and another the London. The most popular story in Belgrade today is about Tito being shown some plans for the reconstruction of the capital and, when asked if he had any suggestions, saying, "We should cut the Albania in half, pull down the Moscow altogether, and widen the street leading to the London."

For more than nine months now Russia and the "people's democracies" have been slinging mud at Yugoslavia, along with quotations from Marx, Lenin, and Stalin. Yugoslavia has thrown back other quotations to show that it is a better Marxist than they, that Stalin is not infallible, and that Yugoslavia is perfectly right to go ahead with its own "building of socialism." Since December especially the Yugoslav leaders have been more and more emphatic in their statements to the effect that the Soviet Union and the people's democracies were deliberately sabotaging Yugoslavia's Five-Year Plan, and that under the circumstances Yugoslavia would trade with the West as much as possible—that is, obtain as much of what it needed for its Five-Year Plan as the West was willing to sell to it.

Before long this question of trade may become a question of credits. The official Yugoslav line is that there is nothing wrong in taking credits from America; even Anna Pauker's Rumania, the press has revealed repeatedly, has been getting loans from London bankers. Representatives of large United States steel interests are in Belgrade negotiating with the Yugoslav authorities about setting up blast furnaces and rolling mills so as to increase appreciably the country's steel output. Talk of sums like $100,000,000 is being gaily tossed around.

The official party line, as laid down by the party's ideologist, Moshe Pijade, is that "we shall go right ahead, for it will take the East some time to realize and to admit that it has committed a sin against Yugoslavia." The clear suggestion in all this is that Yugoslavia will go its own way in building socialism "without the Soviet Union" *for the time being*, and that later a reconciliation will take place between Tito and Stalin. While almost anything may happen in, say, twenty years' time, a reconciliation between the two can hardly be imagined in the foreseeable future, unless the Russians should become desperate and make friends with Tito *on Tito's terms.*

A war of nerves more ferocious than the cold war between East and West has been waged by the East against Yugoslavia. There is every reason to suppose that most if not all of the recent stories about "riots in Macedonia," "troop movements on the Hungarian and Rumanian borders," and so on which have hit the front pages of hundreds of Western newspapers were simply planted in Trieste, Vienna, Rome, Paris, or Istanbul by Cominform agents and joyfully lapped up by our news hounds. Official and semi-official advisers of the Western press, who encourage all the sillier forms of wishful thinking about Czechoslovakia and Poland, were taken in by these planted rumors, not realizing that their main purpose was to demonstrate to the West that economic aid to Yugoslavia would be a very poor investment.

Having traveled all the way to both the Rumanian and the Hungarian border, I am quite certain that there are no "troop movements" there of any description, and that the Voivodina is as peaceful as your back garden. If there is to be any trouble, fostered from outside, it will break out in the south, not in the north; but I shall come to this later.

The major questions in Yugoslavia today are the following: How much headway has Cominform propaganda made in the last nine months in preparing the overthrow of the Tito regime? Is the country on the

ALEXANDER WERTH, formerly The Nation's *correspondent in Moscow, is now covering the other countries of Eastern Europe. In the second part of this article, to appear shortly, he will discuss the possibility that Russia will resort to action in Macedonia to disrupt the Yugoslav state.*

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verge of an economic collapse, which would help the "Cominformists"? Can the Russians allow the Yugoslavs to remain "independent," that is, increasingly dependent on Western economic and financial support? And if not, how can they put an end to it?

MY OWN impression is that Cominform propaganda has made some headway in Yugoslavia since the break but not so much as the Russians like to imagine. People listen, on the whole, as much to Radio-Moscow and Radio-Budapest as to Western broadcasts, but the Cominform propaganda has the weakness of being extraordinarily crude and often offensive to Serb national sentiment; the Serbs do not like to be told, especially not by Budapest, what they are to do. Besides, in what is in effect a police state people would no more enter into a plot or start a riot against Tito than Russians would against Stalin. There is, indeed, no evidence of any *organized* opposition to Tito in the country. That there is some pro-Russian sentiment is true enough, notably in Serbia and Montenegro. An elderly partisan soldier, now a member of a new collective farm in the Voivodina, said to me after a few drinks of *rakija*: "Of course we belong to the East, not to the West, but we love Tito and will never go against him; only he *must* make peace with the Russians." Pro-Russian sentiment is of course far less strong in Croatia and Slovenia, and even in Serbia it is scarcely an overriding passion; the passage of the Red Army through Serbia left memories which are not uniformly good. Pro-Western feeling in Serbia is limited to the remnants of the middle class, though in Croatia it is more widespread.

The Yugoslav Communist Party, for whose benefit the Cominform propaganda is principally dished out, is apparently made up of three elements: (1) out-and-out Titoites—mostly ex-partisans and other patriotic, or as Moscow would say nationalist, hero-worshipers, men imbued with Serbian stubbornness or with an instinctive Croatian dislike of Russia; (2) a secret pro-Cominform group which is still, it seems, almost totally unorganized —except perhaps in Montenegro and Macedonia—but which will respond to a call from Moscow if it comes to a showdown; (3) a not inconsiderable number of fence-sitters, perhaps the largest of the three groups, who might jump either way but for the present are still inclined to "give Tito a chance." These people would on the whole prefer not to have Yugoslavia run on Cominform lines, but if they found the Cominform winning, they would back it.

An important point to remember about Yugoslavia is that the economic collapse so luridly prophesied by Russia for last winter has not taken place. Living conditions are bad but no worse than six months ago. The railways are in poor shape: locomotives are few and out of repair, and there are only 3,000 pretty dilapidated passenger coaches as against 5,000 before the war. The Yugoslavs have begun to make their own freight cars, but it is a slow business. Mining is hampered by absenteeism, and many of the miners still live in the foulest conditions—ten or twelve to a room. People in the towns are overworked and underfed, and the incidence of tuberculosis is the highest in Europe. Yet the country has not collapsed economically, and some of its industries are quite efficiently run—for example, the export of metals, notably copper, and the export of timber. Some progress has lately been made in organizing better canteens for the workers, and there has also been a slight improvement in the supply of shoes and textiles.

The peasants live not too badly, except of course in the more wretched parts of Dalmatia and southern Serbia, where the poverty is as fearful as before the war. Sixteen per cent of the farms have been collectivized, but the party has been warning "activists" against the more extreme forms of "anti-kulak" agitation, "which can only create an atmosphere of panic and insecurity in the countryside." In this respect the party has taken the advice of the Cominform resolution; however, the Cominform has now changed its tune, and the Yugoslav Communists are obliged to spend much of their polemical energy defending themselves against the new charge that they are a "kulak party." Actually, by steering a more careful middle course in the villages than it did last year, the party has created a rather better atmosphere there, and the peasants show a greater willingness to cooperate. The case of the old *ustashi* who was hanged the other day for trying to poison 680 pigs belonging to a state farm is not typical.

The position at the moment is this: in the coming year, the "most decisive" of the Five-Year Plan, Yugoslavia will be able to keep its head above water if enough help comes from the West. If credits are not provided, enough American export licenses must at any rate be granted. The five-year trade agreement with Britain—for a total exchange of £150,000,000—which is now being negotiated, together with an expanding trade with Switzerland, Sweden, and western Germany, should help to keep the country going. It is amusing to see big American business men in Belgrade discussing how they are going to work with the Yugoslavs to "build socialism." From their point of view that is better than to allow the country to be drawn back, through economic collapse, into the Russian sphere. The Yugoslavs, usually quite sincerely, continue to go through all the motions of socialism and communism; whether their course will make sense in Marxist terms only time can show. The Russian line is, of course, that it makes complete nonsense, and that the Yugoslavs are selling out to the West. The problem for the Russians is, first, whether they can afford to allow it and, second, how big a risk they can take in trying to stop it.

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BOOKS *and the* ARTS

T. S. ELIOT ON CULTURE

BY R. P. BLACKMUR

THE American reviews which I have seen of T. S. Eliot's "Notes Towards the Definition of Culture"* have conspicuously and I think outrageously misunderstood both Eliot's intentions and the context of thought and feeling in which he wrote. I cannot set these reviewers right—I am not sure I can be right about Eliot myself—but it should be at least possible to make out that Eliot is not a snob in his feelings and that his thought is genuine: it touches the actual world while reminding us of the oldest form of the ideal world.

As to his feelings, what matters is that always, when the time comes, Eliot is great-spirited. His magnanimity is the rhythm—something deeper and more moving than what he says—that makes him memorable. What other Christian of our time would so often require, not conformity or conversion, but the active help of the atheist and the agnostic? Who else so practices his belief in "dining with the Opposition"? Who else, with such evident warrant of sincerity, insists that to liquidate the enemy is a crime against culture as well as against religion? He might share Santayana's argument that the Gospel reason for loving one's enemy is that God loves him; but he puts it well enough for himself: "Fortunate is the man who, at the right moment, meets the right friend; fortunate also the man who at the right moment meets the right enemy. . . . One needs the enemy. . . . The universality of irritation is the best assurance of peace."

As for his thought—and the feeling is there with the thought—what matters is that in these essays on culture he is making a great plea for the individual, not for the superior individual or for the inferior individual in a superior position, but for the human individual himself, whatever his talent or position may be. That is the very strong personal theme of the book: the search for the recovery of individual life from mass or collective life, and for the renewal of private life. He makes his effort along lines which are meant to reduce the scope and raise the value of public life. No doubt he runs counter to his time, believing his time to be a backwash or eddy in the main stream; and beyond a doubt also he is trying to persuade us to a task difficult at any time.

To Eliot the individual is the hardest thing to be, and it takes permanent and continuous effort. He knows a man may be an individual only among other men. No one could be individual in a wholly strange society, or in a society that was wholly a crowd. Nor, again, could individuals survive in a society governed by a rigid order, or by an order asserted and developed by any single part of the mind. The individual requires rather conversation with his own kind and with other kinds; he requires, in his own society, to be developed out of what came before him and to develop, if he can, what will come after him. Otherwise there will be nothing individual in him, only what can be atomized; so that he could never enjoy, whether in great affairs or in personal intimacy, either a silly joke or a contented silence, which are right rules for both.

It is such individuals and such a society (society: the fellowship of individuals) that Eliot wants; he wants the culture which will make them possible; and for that culture he is willing to pay the cost—the cost that is everything, the cost that has always been paid except when substitutes or bankruptcy made the event. The cost Eliot is willing to pay for culture is that of a prestige society—a society capable of creating prestige for its values, where the greater the prestige the greater the manifestation of values, both at the upper and the lower levels of society, and where the classes with the greatest prestige (not the greatest power) have the function of carrying on what as individuals they may not possess, the possibility of the highest form of these values.

Is not prestige, the possession of presence by attribution, the public proof *and* the inner assurance of the private, individual life? Prestige is the saturated atmosphere between personalities which is felt as consideration. The *moving* quality in a private or a public relationship is prestige. We force upon each man his function, but there is with each function the gift of the prestige of the function. Think of the family, the love affair, the law, parliament, the church. Think, above all, when reading Eliot, of the church and of the religion under the church. What is religion but the cultivation of the force which is the source of all prestige? We practice forms, each time praying they may be filled; certainly we do not always know with what. It is the same whether in "church" or in "society," in religion or in culture.

Here is the important part of Eliot's position. For him it depends only on your point of view whether you say religion develops out of culture or culture develops out of religion. He will not identify religion with culture, and he will distinguish when he must between culture and religion; and he knows that there is more at work in a mind than either culture or religion. There is terror for us all in the form his recognition takes. We are not unified, he says, we are not pure, our behavior has something to do with our belief, and we live also on the level where these cannot be distinguished. It is very disconcerting, he says, to play on this reflection. "It gives an importance to our most trivial pursuits, to the occupation of our every minute, which we cannot contemplate long without the horror of nightmare."

What Eliot *ventures* to say himself—and it is a very real venture, the venture of what all his later poetry is up to—is that culture is the *incarnation* of the religion of a people; incarnation, bodying forth; the attempt of the ultimate real to become actual. Something of this sort is what, from a secular point of view, Roger Sessions meant by saying that music makes great gestures of the spirit. Perhaps, in Eliot's context, cul-

*Harcourt, Brace and Company, $2.50.

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ture has to do with the relation between the spiritual and material organization in a society, as felt and carried by individuals. Perhaps, for him, it is religion alone which communicates the forces that keep life going in the individual; something very different from either identification or relation, something very like *incarnation*. It is a poet's thought, not an educator's; but it is thought.

Being a poet's thought, it is dramatic. The degree and kind of incarnation will vary from region to region, group to group, individual to individual, without impairment of what is being incarnated. Loyalties will vary, politics contrast, unity is far off. So there must be neither excess of unity nor excess of division; uniformity is death, and orthodoxy must develop out of conflict with fresh heresies. There must be both the constant struggle between the centrifugal and the centripetal for the sake of balance, and an unremitting effort to be individuals in whom alone the balance can be reached.

This is a friendly account of Eliot's attempt to define culture as the incarnation of the religion of a people. His definition seems to me to touch life and also to renew life: it is, in the poetic sense, a partial act of incarnation; and it seems to me that it is altogether under this head that we ought to accept, to quarrel with, or to discount Eliot's particular deductions about education and politics and élites: that there ought not to be too much of any of these, and that the intellect does not know enough about any of them to decide how much is enough.

As for myself, I discount more than I quarrel, and quarrel more than I accept, as one ought to in any conversation concerned with developing orthodoxy, whether Christian or otherwise human. I am not a politician and have no wish to nose out ideas, as Eliot says, only when they have begun to stink. But I rather think I should like to agree when Eliot says, early in the book: "To judge a work of art by artistic or by religious standards, to judge a religion by religious or artistic standards should come in the end to the same thing: though it is an end at which no individual can arrive." I agree, because this is at heart the direction in which Eliot works.

The Late Jimmy Walker

BEAU JAMES. The Life and Times of Jimmy Walker. By Gene Fowler. The Viking Press. $4.

WHO DO you suppose turn out to be the villains in this latest Fowler study of some of the fantastic characters of our times? Not the collection of what Fiorello LaGuardia used to call the "little punks," the professional bondsmen preying on the unfortunates in the toils of the magistrates' courts, the runners for the call-houses, the gamblers and fixers, the dressed-up hoodlums and suave bootleggers, the police detectives who couldn't detect gang murderers whose names and addresses were practically printed on the front pages. None of these, though all of them were riding high, wide, and handsome during the absentee administrations of the Honorable James John Walker, hundredth Mayor of the City of New York, at the tail-end of the Big Boom of the Twenties, the start of the Big Bust of the Thirties. Nor are the villains the overnight millionaires, the contact men for contractors and transportation companies, the big-shot publisher who out of sheer "benificence" as Mr. Fowler will have it, established an account for the Mayor whereby the latter profited to the extent of $246,692 after taxes. None of these, though they too flourished like green bay trees under the Walker regime. No, the real villains are the cold-blooded, humorless "Grand Inquisitors"—Rabbi Stephen S. Wise, John Haynes Holmes, and Samuel Seabury.

I defy anyone to read this fast-talking, often amusing, always sentimentalized alibi for—let us be charitable and call it the "nonfeasance" of the late Jimmy Walker, and come away from it without getting the impression that Mr. Fowler believes that the reformers who forced Walker's resignation in August, 1932, were an egregiously sadistic lot. In telling of the resignation written by Walker while he was squirming through an examination by Governor Franklin Roosevelt, following the Seabury exposé, Mr. Fowler writes: "The resignation of the tired Mayor brought an air of sadness to thousands. His critics, of course, accepted his action as an admission of guilt. Certain ones among them,

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however, felt that Walker was cheating them of the spectacle of their victim being beaten to death and disgraced in the open forum."

"Their victim!" When the Wise-Holmes protest against the graft that Norman Thomas said was "rampant" in the city—one of Mr. Thomas's wildest understatements—was dismissed by Governor Roosevelt, "a bright hope" according to Gene Fowler was held out to the suffering Mayor. Another bright hope was the fact that in the annual police parade of 1931, where the Mayor marched at the head of about as sorry a collection of dubious characters as ever disgraced a uniform, the people cheered him. Mr. Fowler opens his book with an account of that parade, dwelling on the Mayor's "pixy smile," his wisecracks on the line of march, his darting out of line to mount the steps of St. Patrick's Cathedral and there kiss the ring of Cardinal Hayes. You get an idea of the style of "Beau James" from the description of this last incident: "Perhaps this gesture, this kissing of the episcopal ring, is an expression of hope that lives deep in a troubled heart; hope for a solution of conflicts of mind and for a true composure of soul, which will come to this man only after many years have elapsed. He will find at last a spiritual refuge, find it after three years of self-exile from the city he loves with great passion, and after other years of doubt and yearning, of loss and heartbreak. Then atonement, and the final victory of redemption."

Though he introduces his hero with this off-stage Pagliacci music, leaving the innocent reader to wonder why such a charming, outgoing, pixy-like personality should be so relentlessly pursued by the Holmes-Wise-Seabury Axis, it must be said of Mr. Fowler's book that he has filled it with most of the good stories told by and of Jimmy Walker. Just as in his other books, "Timberline" and "Good Night Sweet Prince," when Gene Fowler forgets his fancy language —the wind in a ship's rigging sounded like "a flute solo played by a repentant murderer in a prison orchestra"—and his embarrassingly ham analysis of men and measures, he is as good a storyteller as is writing today. If you want to recall the best gags and the spiciest gossip that went the rounds of speakeasies, ring-side seats, and theater lobbies in the twenties, this book is your meat.

If, however, your memory runs back to "the degradation of the democratic dogma" under the Walker regime, you'll find "Beau James" pretty hard to take. Mr. Fowler protests too much the guilessness of his subject. In one chapter the Mayor is a super-sophisticated, well-nigh super-humanly smart man about town who knows all that is going on in high places and low. In the next he is a bemused butterfly, pinned to the wall by the cold and clammy hand of Samuel Seabury. Gene Fowler can't have it both ways. The defenders of the innocence of Warren Harding tried that act and it was a flop. They pictured the great-hearted playboy from Ohio as malignantly hounded by Bob La Follette and Burton Wheeler. Now, every schoolboy knows that wasn't so. Let's hope every reader of "Beau James," young and old, will take Walker for what he was, fundamentally a weakling with an uncanny realization of his own inferiority, in the grip of a clerical-political machine which for seven sordid years dragged a great city through the dust. Charming? Jimmy Walker was that. And he was witty, generous with his own and the taxpayers' money too, and he was the life of the party, and all that Mr. Fowler says he was except an innocent "victim." There was just one nine-letter word missing from the Walker make-up, and that was integrity.

MCALISTER COLEMAN

The Heart of the Argument

THE WORLD'S BEST HOPE. By Francis Biddle. The University of Chicago Press. $3.50.

AMERICAN conservatism never tires of insinuating that what is generally known as the "New Deal" is nothing more than the invention of a smart but unscrupulous politician for catching votes by finding a way of letting as many voters as possible feed at the public trough. In the most inept speech which I ever heard in my life Governor Dewey recently made such an estimate of Franklin Roosevelt's political program in the presence of Winston Churchill. Francis Biddle's new book on American domestic and foreign policy is not only the most telling refutation of this conservative charge; it is also a wise and statesman-like survey of

A Quest for Political Peace of Mind by

LELAND STOWE

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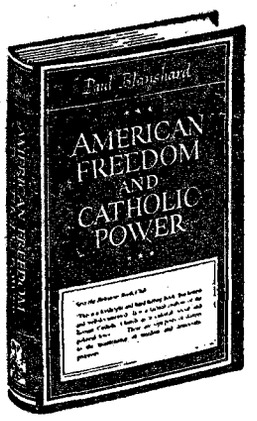

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BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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the basic problems of American politics and a really distinguished expression of the philosophy of all of us who seek to bring the power of the state into the service of its people without annulling the cherished liberties of a democratic society.

Mr. Biddle is quite aware that the unique circumstances of American history, such as the only recently closed frontier and the remarkable productivity of the American economy, give our political philosophy a libertarian emphasis which distinguishes it from the Socialist and quasi-Socialist thought of the rest of the non-Communist world; and he does not expect the civilizations of the various Western nations to develop identical accents. But he is rightly concerned that we should not disturb the unity of the Western world either by policies or by interpretations of our own national nature which obscure what we have in common with the rest of the free world. "The rigid classification [between socialism and free enterprise] is meaningless," he declares, "in a world in which no nation has a free economy in any exact sense of the word, where cooperative efforts have taken the place of personal interests, and where . . . individualism has given way to a highly organized life."

In his discussion of foreign policy Mr. Biddle calls attention particularly to the absurdity of the proposals of some of our business and political leaders who wanted to incorporate a prohibition against national planning into the vast scheme of international economic planning known as the European Recovery Program. He also refutes the silly idea that the planning in which democratic nations of Europe engage has started them on the slippery slope toward communism. A democratic European socialism, working pragmatically and without dogmatic fury upon the problem of freedom and justice, is as anxious to preserve freedom as we are to achieve justice within a system of freedom. We are working on the same problem, approaching the middle of the tunnel from opposite ends. The threat of communism meanwhile develops in a free society not because men are not fervently enough devoted to freedom but rather because they are not intent enough to guarantee justice and security in the framework of a free society.

The choice we face, declares Mr. Biddle, is not between state controls and no controls but between the "dominion of monopolies which have emerged from a system of free enterprise and the planned supervision of community action thought to be based upon less prejudiced considerations." This is of course the heart of the argument against all the absurd attempts to identify democracy with laissez faire in the American business community. The argument does not justify an uncritical increase of centralization of political power, but it does prove that a modern community is not faced with the choice between freedom and authority but with the task of making the power used in a community as responsible as possible, of distributing centers of power as equitably as possible, and of redressing by political power injustices which have been caused by an undue centralization of economic power.

Mr. Biddle calls attention to the fact that our actions are not as libertarian as our theories, that the contradiction between our "private theory and public practice is puzzling to foreign observers." This fact constantly plays into the hands of our Communist critics upon the Continent, who try to prove that we are the kind of wilderness of free enterprise which we say we are. So when European visitors come to our shores they are surprised that we have such a thing as unemployment insurance.

I doubt whether this contradiction is quite so puzzling as Mr. Biddle makes out. He proves, for instance, that the business community is as much opposed to government action in anti-trust suits designed to restore a competitive system ostensibly revered by them as to government policy designed to bring business activity under some kind of control in areas in which competition is no longer operative. All this reveals the "ideological taint" in the free-enterprise doctrine. Men with great economic power warn the community against the rise of political power in the name of a theory which originally did not envisage great economic power but rather an automatic balance of many forms of moderate economic power. They may not be "consciously" dishonest in doing this. But no one with some knowledge of the infinite capacity of the human heart for self-deception need worry too

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much about how "conscious" these deceptions are. The point is that they obscure the truth about our common life in a technical age.

If only some of our passionate devotees of free enterprise would read this book! It breathes such a spirit of urbanity and wisdom that they might actually learn from it. But it is a very good book for the rest of of us too. It will clarify as well as establish true liberal convictions.

REINHOLD NIEBUHR

A Nisei Childhood

YOKOHAMA, CALIFORNIA. By Toshio Mori. The Caxton Printers. $3.

IT IS one of the minor misfortunes of life that too many Americans whose childhood has been spent in distant parts or whose families have been eccentric assume, correctly, that setting down their recollections of uncle or of life in Upper Styria is the sole effort needful to make a book. This exploitation is responsible for a depressing but luckily ephemeral mass of semi-fiction in which what has happened is of importance only because it happened, in which subject matter is all and insight and technique merely ancillary.

Large portions of "Yokohama, California," for which William Saroyan has supplied an irresponsible, prize-giving preface, fall into this pattern. However, the book has a kind of charm. These unpretentious sketches of the Japanese of Oakland and San Leandro before Pearl Harbor sometimes do become fiction, although frequently one understands what Mr. Mori intended to say, not what he has said. The feeling here is mostly sound. A walk in the city, a strange encounter, a girl worshiped from afar—these are good, and at such times the book is more than a report on Japanese American life in the East Bay.

What is most interesting here is the English, with which the Caxton Printers have wisely not tampered. It is the language of a writer dependent on the dictionary rather than on an extensive knowledge of connotations, and for this very reason often wonderfully fresh and spontaneous. When Mr. Mori learns that anecdote is but the bare bones of serious fiction, and when he emerges from the wholly baleful influence of William Saroyan, he may become a very good genre writer.

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Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"SOUTH PACIFIC" (Majestic Theater) is the new musical hit by the Messrs. Rodgers and Hammerstein. Not since "Oklahoma!" have they had so good a book or so happy a score, and they are set for an indefinite run. The new piece is not really "like 'Oklahoma!' " and it does not delight me in the same way, but many will find it even more to their taste, and it is as good in its own somewhat more conventional fashion as it well could be.

The story is lifted from a portion of James A. Michener's successful novel of almost the same name, and it has been very skilfully adapted to the somewhat peculiar requirements of romantic comic opera. The scene is pleasantly exotic; the love story between the army nurse and the French planter furnishes the necessary sentimental interest; and the presence of the seabees gives ample opportunity for robustious, pleasantly bawdy humor. These are standard ingredients but superficially novel enough not to seem standard, and they have been handled with smooth expertness. Mr. Hammerstein has written some very rollicking lyrics, and Mr. Rodgers was inspired to find for them bright, swinging tunes. As one has come to expect in his case, the whole musical texture is fuller and richer than what one commonly finds in musical comedies, but there is no attempt, as there was in "Allegro," to emphasize an integrated score at the expense of the expected "song hits." "South Pacific" offers at least a half-dozen songs which will deservedly become thoroughly familiar to anyone who ever hears a radio.

There has been no skimping of either attention or money on any detail, and even the minor performers in a very large cast were obviously selected and trained almost as carefully as the principals. Ezio Pinza and Mary Martin—an opera singer and a comedienne whose vocal cords were not originally her most important endowment—may seem an odd pair, but the combination works out perfectly. Mr. Pinza not only sings beautifully but obviously has the looks, the manner, the charm, and the sex appeal which could have made him a musical-comedy favorite long ago if he had not preferred the Metropolitan.

As for Miss Martin, she was never better, never I think so good, and one is led to wonder what to call that last *je ne sais quoi* which makes all the difference between a competent performer in her manner and and her unique excellence. Evidently a virtuosity which can only be the result of disciplined cultivation of the sort which any art requires is partly responsible. There is no fumbling, nothing is hit-or-miss. But that is by no means all. There is also the effect of what one can only call sincerity. She seems to feel what she is singing, the gestures seem inspired from within, and she communicates what seems to be her own genuine joy in doing what she can do. To her are intrusted two of the most important songs, "I'm Gonna Wash That Man Right Outa My Hair," which was the one most publicized in advance, and "I'm in Love with a Wonderful Guy," which I like even better. No one could make them more effective. Already I have heard the second interpreted by another singer on the radio, and though it is still a very good song indeed, it is not quite what Miss Martin made it. Among the more prominent of the secondary performers perhaps the best are Juanita Hall, who gives a very vivid performance as Bloody Mary, the native woman, and Myron McCormick, who rousingly leads the singing of one of the other best songs, "There Is Nothing Like a Dame."

One of the striking things about "Oklahoma!" was the successful alternation of what seemed to me—though I am no music critic—three different idioms. There was the idiom of "People Will Say We're in Love," which was the idiom of Cole Porter; there was that of comic songs like "I Can't Say No," which was more original though still unmistakably of Broadway; and finally there was the idiom of sev-

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eral other songs, including "Many a Fine Day," which seemed to hark back very charmingly to an old English popular tradition which most people know chiefly through "The Beggar's Opera." Apparently Mr. Rodgers has decided to write no more in this last manner, and I am sorry, for I found it the most delightful of all. But "I'm in Love with a Wonderful Guy" is quite the best thing he has done since the score of "Oklahoma!" was completed. It is in waltz time, but it is not in the least Viennese, and it reaches a climax of abandon which, like that of Miss Martin herself, stops just on the right side of mere brassiness. No dévoté of current styles will find anything strange about it, as many doubtless found some of "Oklahoma!" strange. But it has, nevertheless, a freshness, a sense of style, and, like the singer of it, an air of sincerity which put it very far indeed above the work of lesser writers who think they are doing much the same thing.

Music

B. H. HAGGIN

WE KNOW "Aida" from performances which bumble along in tempos that are inexact to start with and that defer to singers' exhibitionistic extravagances and thus destroy coherence in the progression; performances with inexact dynamics that destroy balance of sonority and clarity of texture; performances without initial or continuing impetus, without clarity of phrase-outline, structure, and in the end without the effect which the work is capable of. Toscanini's recent broadcasts allowed us to hear for once an "Aida" with the effect produced by—among other things—accuracy in performance: accuracy of tempos which created a coherent and shaped progression from the first note to the last; accuracy in the singers' beautifully outlined phrases which fitted into that progression; accuracy in dynamics which created the balances for clarity of orchestral texture. With what was contributed by Toscanini's musical feeling and taste, his emotional intensity and dramatic temperament, the performance not only gave artistic validity and powerful effect to the formulas of the earlier Verdi style in its most highly developed state, but allowed one to hear the exquisite and wonderfully expressive harmonic and orchestral details with which that style is enriched in "Aida" by the subtle craftsmanship that is to elaborate them, after sixteen years, into the amazingly free and flexible idiom of "Otello."

What made this craftsmanship especially impressive was hearing the orchestral part played—as we are not likely ever to hear it played again—by an orchestra of the virtuoso caliber of the N. B. C. Symphony. As for the singing, I now appreciate the truth of Shaw's repeated assertion that it was not Wagner's writing but Verdi's that imposed a terrific strain on the voice: I would say there isn't a more murderously taxing soprano part in the repertory than Aida, with what it calls on the singer to do in act after act. Not just the high C's and C flats that must be heard above the huge sonorities of the big ensembles, but the long phrases in the arias and duets of the third and fourth acts—written to be taken in one breath, but always broken—in which the voice rises to high C or to a concluding sustained B flat or A. Nervousness or faulty microphone-placement made Herva Nelli's voice weak and breathy in the broadcast of the first two acts; but the second week she produced those long phrases in one breath, with a voice that had gained in power since last year's "Otello" and Requiem but that had lost—especially in soft low notes—the fresh warmth and luster it had had then. And Richard Tucker, the Rhadames, who produced ringing *fortes*, also has lost the warmth and luster in softer notes that I recall in a recorded performance of *O Paradiso* a couple of years ago.

The outstanding singers of the performance were Eva Gustavson, the Amneris, who revealed in the second broadcast the luscious contralto voice that nervousness clouded with tremolo in the first; Giuseppe Valdengo, the Amonasro, whose superb baritone also was at its best the second week; and Norman Scott, the Ramfis, with a rich though not powerful bass. Teresa Stitch Randall, soprano, the Priestess, and Denis Harbour, bass-baritone, the King, also sang well; and the Robert Shaw chorus was excellent.

I mentioned the possibility of microphone-placement being responsible for the weakness of Nelli's voice both in solo and in ensemble passages in the first broadcast. Other defects in the transmitted sound for which placing and use of microphones were unquestionably responsible, in that first broadcast, were the off-stage band sounding on-stage, the stage-band in back sounding nearer than the orchestra in front, the chorus and soloists sounding louder than the orchestra and sometimes blanketing it completely. In addition climaxes were leveled off, and therefore got louder as they subsided; the massive sonorities of the triumph scene were deprived of their massiveness; the punctuating chords like claps of thunder sounded far off. In the second broadcast the off-stage chorus began as though it were on-stage and very near, but was correctly placed later; and otherwise the transmission was excellent.

The performance of "Aida" was the sensational climax of a year in which Toscanini produced some of his most astoundingly beautiful performances. The performance of Schubert's "Unfinished," for example, was, in its own way, as sensational as the one of "Aida."

CONTRIBUTORS

R. P. BLACKMUR is a member of the Department of English at Princeton University. He contributed to the recently published "Lectures in Criticism."

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Letters to the Editors

An Alternative to the Atlantic Pact

Dear Sirs: Because we believe that the deep desire of all mankind for a world at peace can be realized and that failure to do so may destroy civilization, we have addressed this open letter to the Administration and the Eighty-first Congress:

Peace depends upon an understanding between the United States and the U. S. S. R. The people of both nations want peace. Yet millions of American citizens believe that the Russian government wants to impose Russian communism upon the nations of the world. At the same time millions of Russian citizens believe that the American government is driving toward world domination by American capitalism.

These fears have led to acts by both nations which have deepened the division between them and generated further fear and hostility. As a result we are today burdened with expenditures of a military nature that consume more than half of our budget. Support for questionable regimes in various parts of the world is costing us hundreds of millions of dollars and the friendship of liberty-loving peoples. War preparations are making it impossible to achieve the program of domestic reform for which the American people voted and are jeopardizing our political democracy. If the present pattern of measures and counter-measures by our country and Russia persists, it can lead only to a war which neither nation can win and in which mankind may be destroyed.

Yet a further step is now being prepared in the form of a North Atlantic military alliance, to be followed by a huge and costly program of arming Western Europe for war. This step will not only retard recovery in Western Europe; it will irrevocably commit us to a fatal two-world policy. It and the counter-measures it provokes will widen the split in the world between two armed camps, increase conflict in every part of the globe, and intensify an arms race that will impoverish all people and may end only in a war of extinction.

Therefore we urge President Truman and the Congress to reject the proposal for a North Atlantic military alliance.

There is a constructive and honorable alternative.

We are deeply convinced that capitalism and communism not only can but must live together in the same peaceful world. No dispute between the United States and Russia need be resolved by force, and there are no differences between them which in time cannot be settled by peaceful negotiations. We are of the opinion that all the possibilities for such negotiations have never been fully explored.

We urge that the President, through a special emissary to the Soviet Union, prepare the way for a meeting between the highest ranking authorities of the two governments. Issues now outstanding between the two countries should be thoroughly discussed and an atmosphere of mutual confidence established in anticipation of multilateral discussions at which final settlements could be achieved. This will prepare the way for peace treaties with Germany and Japan. It should provide for the resumption of trade between East and West. There should be firm commitments against interference in the affairs of other nations and the principle established that aid to the needy peoples of the world be administered through the United Nations. It should lead to a sufficient measure of confidence between East and West to make possible a general reduction in armaments.

If war comes, a settlement between impoverished, devastated nations must be made after the war—if any survive to make the treaty. Let discussions be held *now*, before war is inevitable.

The new Congress and the Administration have a unique opportunity, in Lincoln's words, to "nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope of earth." We petition for the discharge of this responsibility in a spirit worthy of our past and creative of our future—to the end that all mankind may be freed from the threat of total war and total death and may face the days to come with confidence in enduring peace and in a better life for all.

JAMES C. BAKER,
CLARENCE E. PICKETT,
T. O. THACKERAY,
and More Than Three Hundred Others

New York, April 10

Thrust

Dear Sirs: On March 5 you were kind enough to print a communication from me in which I took issue, in part, with an earlier article by Richard L. Neuberger. Mr. Neuberger was given an opportunity to answer my letter, a favor that was not granted to me when you printed his criticism of me.

Mr. Neuberger in his "rebuttal" adopted the "you're another" method. What I objected to in his original article was not his criticism of me as a former public official. I objected to a misrepresentation of fact which I am at liberty now to regard as having been deliberate. I assume that if his misstatements had been merely careless, he would, as an honest journalist, quite frankly have said so.

He charged that "adverse propaganda against regional authorities began to be issued during Harold Ickes's regime and has never been fully shut off." This statement should have been buttressed with facts, instead of which Mr. Neuberger indulges in a sneer. I believe in a one-man administration. Mr. Neuberger advocated a board modeled on TVA. Surely there can be an honest difference of opinion between one who wants a hydra-headed administration and one who believes in a single administrator. I have known poor single administrators, but the poorest administration that I have ever seen in Washington has been that of three- or five- or seven-man boards.

Mr. Neuberger offers as evidence an alleged conversation with a man now dead, the late George W. Norris. Although this was inadmissible, there was probably a time when Senator Norris believed that I was making an effort to have TVA brought into Interior. He had been told this by a third person whom Mr. Neuberger greatly admires, but his informer was no more truthful than Mr. Neuberger seems to be at times. The fact is that after President Roosevelt, to my surprise, told me that he had signed an order transferring TVA to Interior, I urged him to make it public. Before Norris left the Washington scene he was convinced that I had had nothing to do with President Roosevelt's determination to change the status of TVA.

In an attempt to meet a charge of misrepresentation Mr. Neuberger in-

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dulges in further misrepresentations, probably in the hope that no one will be able to catch up with him. For instance, he says that at Tacoma in 1938 I ridiculed Senator Bone's bill for a Columbia River Valley Authority. I did no such thing. I supported that bill, as a rereading of my speech has just assured me, excepting only that I argued for a one-man administration rather than a three-man board. I am still not aware that a three-man board for a river-valley authority has become the eleventh commandment. May not a man be in favor, as my long record shows me to have been, of river-valley authorities and still believe that a one-man administration is a better device than a three-man board?

Mr. Neuberger charged me with propaganda against *regional authorities.* Now he is trying to retreat from that untenable position under a cloud of TVA dust. I would have more respect for him if he frankly acknowledged that he had either misunderstood or was mistaken as to my position.

HAROLD L. ICKES

Washington, April 4

Riposte

Dear Sirs: When a Missouri Valley Authority first was proposed, this is what Secretary Ickes told a Senate committee: "You have before you not merely a question of establishing a single authority, for eventually the Congress will not do less for one watershed than for another. Therefore, there is before you a major step in the reorganization of the government of the United States as we have known it for the last 150 years."

This quotation was broadcast from Great Falls to St. Louis by the enemies of MVA. The same quotation now is being broadcast from Seattle to Missoula by the enemies of a Columbia Valley Authority. It is regrettable that the self-proclaimed champion of valley authorities has furnished so much ammunition to the foes of these projects.

RICHARD L. NEUBERGER,
Oregon State Senate

Salem, Ore., April 8

[*In editorial condensation, several sentences were deleted from Mr. Neuberger's original letter in the issue of March 5; they explained that his conversation with the late Senator Norris in 1942 was witnessed by Irving Dilliard of the St. Louis* Post-Dispatch, *who "will confirm what I say." This correspondence is now terminated.*—EDITORS THE NATION.]

No Immunity for Liberals

[*For reasons of space, several paragraphs have been omitted, with the writer's knowledge, from the following letter.* —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Dear Sirs: Commenting on the current trial in New York Federal Court of twelve Communist leaders on the charge of "conspiracy" to "teach and advocate" Marxist-Leninist principles, Robert Bendiner in your issue of April 9 curiously fails to challenge the prosecution's basic inquisitorial thesis that political ideas are triable, that men can be haled into court for mere teaching and advocacy. Mr. Bendiner, in fact, accepts the Hoover-McGohey-Budenz distortion of Marxism-Leninism, a caricature arrived at by the classic gendarme method of tearing from context a few isolated paragraphs containing the words "revolution," "dictatorship of the proletariat," "shattering of the state," and so on.

"The indictment," Mr. Bendiner writes, "has impaled the American Communist leaders on the horns of a dilemma. They must either minimize the teachings of the founders of their belief . . . *or they must stand on those teachings and take the consequences"* (emphasis mine).

I submit that whatever liberals may think of Communists—and I assume many disagree with us—they agree that we have a right to teach and advocate our views. Liberals have generally opposed the idea that political ideas are triable in the courts and have insisted that ideas be judged in the only court capable of passing judgment—the court of the sovereign people. Liberals have argued traditionally that Marxists have a right to teach and advocate their views and that the American people have the right to hear and pass on those views.

To suggest, as does Mr. Bendiner, that Americans who stand on the teachings of Marx and Lenin "must take the consequences" (ten years' imprisonment under the Smith act) is to make a violent break with liberal doctrine and reject even the conventional Holmes doctrine on teaching and advocacy.

Surely Mr. Bendiner does not speak for the main body of American liberals when he says that teaching and advocacy of a philosophy held by 70,000 Americans—and, in part, by millions of others—and by millions of Europeans and other peoples are crimes punishable by ten-year sentences. Surely most liberals will not agree that the government may in fact outlaw a political party merely for a "conspiracy" to "teach and advocate," that is, an agreement to use certain words.

Whatever their differences with the Communists, liberals cannot in self-interest sit by idly while books are placed on trial and a political party

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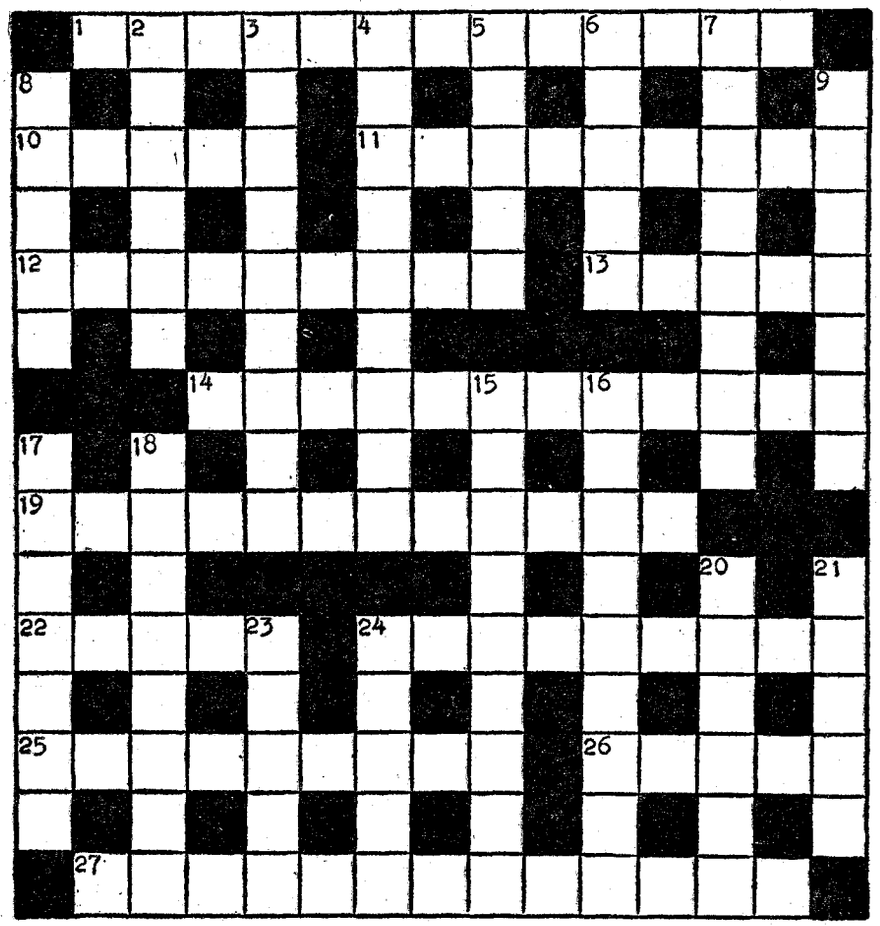
Crossword Puzzle No. 310

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Criminal ring? (7, 6)
10 Language spoken in the Palatinate. (5)
11 Where one turns out the light and awaits developments. (9)
12 Free corns for colleagues. (9)
13 Loyal Belgian town.(5)
14 Taxies or dumb people are when not confined to the right. (12)
19 One needs more in an upper! (8, 4)
22 Its state forms the basis of a message. (5)
24 Tubal has a place out in Ohio (9)
25 One more than necessary for a majority. (9) (hyphenated)
26 Fields associated with him (not the musician, however). (5)
27 Not the "hot" kind of conductors. (9, 4)

DOWN

2 Mean. (6)
3 Amusing or boring; he's bound to be one or the other. (9)
4 Subscribe, or how we're born? (9)
5 Demeter sounds like a lot who succeed. (5)
6 F. D. is associated with the R this implies. (5)
7 Priam's father might make a lemon do. (8)
8 Loose in the coal-bin, perhaps. (5)
9 Eloa's persecution doesn't involve speaking. (7)
15 A mortal has a change of heart before being brought forth. (9) (hyphenated)
16 Paris was in the thick of this fighting. (6, 3)
17 Only found in little advertisements. (7)
18 Be a New England state once again. (8)
20 Held in the dog-kennel? (6)
21 Wait, this town is Irving's home! (5)
23 Put on after the duel, or let out after dinner. (5)
24 It certainly doesn't flow head-on! (5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 309

ACROSS:—1 PIPE-JOINT; 6 NABOB; 9 PERIWIG; 10 INTERIM; 11 YAK; 12 HEARTS; 13 WANT; 15 PASTRIES; 16 FOREGO; 18 RATTAN; 20 SURFACES; 23 IRIS; 25 APT; 28 MUMMIES; 29 AGNOMEN; 31 DRESSINGS.

DOWN:—1 POPPY; 2 PERUKES; 3 and 30 JAWAHARLAL NEHRU; 4 INGRATES; 5, 24 and 6 THIRTY-SECOND NOTE; 7 BARRAGE; 8 BUMPTIOUS; 14 CONFIDANTS; 15 PERSIMMON; 17 AUTO-DA-FE; 19 TRIUMPH; 21 CHAPMAN; 22 MESSED; 26 TUNIS; 27 BIDU.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York

outlawed. Most thoughtful liberals know from the experiences of German and Italian fascism that they cannot ride out the reactionary storm. First, the Communists; then, in quick succession, the Social Democrats, trade unionists, and liberals: such is the law of reaction.

The Smith act, under which the Communist leaders are now being tried, is undoubtedly as unconstitutional as its historical antecedents, the Alien and Sedition laws. But to nurse the illusion that the higher courts will remedy the damage done by a conviction in this case would be to welcome the deluge. Thousands of persons will be placed in serious jeopardy if these twelve are convicted. The illegalization of the Communist Party, even if temporary, would quickly be extended to other organizations—in the first place to labor and progressive peoples' groups (need I say *vide* the case of *The Nation* in the schools?).

Is it not clear that this trial is an attack on *all* who fight for peace and progress, irrespective of political viewpoint?

Is it not clear by now that reaction grants no permanent immunity to liberals who join it in reviling the Communists? Is it not clear that a sturdy, unequivocal defense of the rights of the Communists to teach and advocate their philosophy is the best defense of the rights of all Americans?

SIMON W. GERSON,
Director, Public Relations Office,
Trial of the Twelve
New York, April 11

[Mr. Gerson charges me with three sins: failure to challenge "the prosecution's inquisitorial thesis that political ideas are triable"; lifting out of con-

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text; and suggesting that American Marxists "must take the consequences" of their belief, namely, punishment under the Smith act. By way of reply let me suggest that Mr. Gerson:

1. Reread the two articles I have written on the trial to date. He will find that in *The Nation* of January 29 I not only questioned the validity of the indictment but specifically urged that "the remedy [for Communist agitation] would lie not in attempts at thought-control but in the rigid application of penalties for specific violation of law; in counter-propaganda backed by genuine democratic achievement rather than in feeding conspiracy through suppression." In the specific article under attack I wrote that "the public in general, I think, will expect the prosecution to show a more concrete conspiracy . . . than the agreement to circulate and expound, through the party apparatus, certain books which may be found in almost any library."

2. Suggest some method other than "lifting out of context" for relating in a one-page article the burden of Lenin's "State and Revolution." Mr. Gerson has not even attempted to show that my citations distorted that work's intention.

3. Refrain from actually distorting the one quotation he has chosen to "lift out of context" from my piece. What I stated was not a judgment but the simple fact that the trial has placed the Communist leaders in a dilemma, and that they are faced with an unpleasant tactical choice. I did not say, nor do I believe, that the teaching or advocacy of any belief *should* be punishable. On the contrary, I think the Smith act is unconstitutional, and I hope it will be declared so. I would far rather see the Communists exposed in public as the slavish devotees of a foreign state than tried in a court of law for a dubious conspiracy to teach Leninism.—R. B.]

Another Suppression

Dear Sirs: I had a weekly column in our local newspaper, the *Delaware State News*, and among other things I commented on Cardinal Spellman's rabble-rousing speech about Cardinal Mindszenty. There were also one or two other discussions of mine that Roman Catholics did not like. So they put pressure on the newspaper to discontinue my column. Your readers, I am sure, will be interested in this demonstration of the power of the Roman Catholic church in a Protestant community. L. LEE LAYTON, JR.
Dover, Del., March 25

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most books talk too much

A GREAT MANY centuries ago, some unknown, uncelebrated Greek mouthed a proverb. *"Do not go forth,"* he proverbed, *"on the gale with every sail set into an ocean of words."*

It is our feeling that many current Americans have a warm spot in their hearts for this long-dead Greek. It comes from reading books that say what they have to say and then keep right on talking, for pages and pages and pages. Too many people lay down a not-quite-completely-read book with an exhausted sigh, wondering why the author didn't take the pains to say it more quickly and more sharply—and sign off.

* * *

THE REAL VILLAIN who lurks behind long-winded books is not the author, but the economics of the book business. Actually, retailers don't sell many copies of the average book; so the books they *do* sell have to cost enough to create a reasonable gross profit. Books must be *big* enough to sell for $3.50 or $4 or more; and to give the customer his money's worth requires a book with plenty of pages, even if most pages are superfluous.

* * *

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